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SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA

X

MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF NEPALESE HISTORY AND CULTURE

1

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON TWO SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITIONS IN NEPAL

ROMA
ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE
1956

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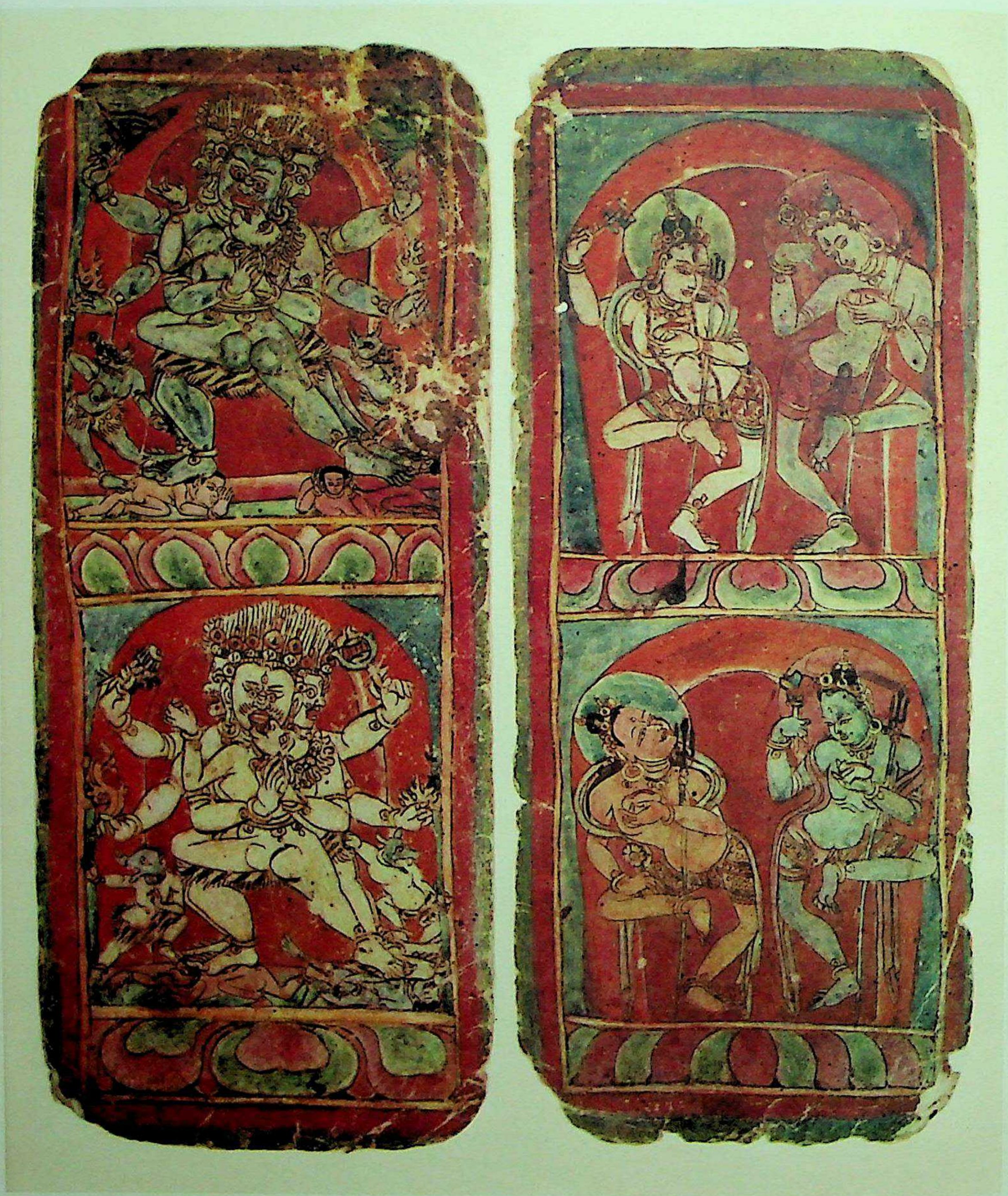

Bonpo paintings (p. 30)

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON TWO SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITIONS IN NEPAL

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PREFACE

This is the first of a series of volumes dedicated to the history of Nepal and of its culture. The next volume will contain the text of the inscriptions so far discovered in Nepal and belonging to the ancient period from Mānadeva up to Vijayadeva.

In the third volume these inscriptions will be translated and commented upon. In the following issues of this series we will publish and translate the inscriptions of the Malla period: we will also edit the Tibetan texts which in some way through light on the history and culture of Nepal. Other volumes, by Prof. L. Petech, will investigate the history of the Malla period.

GIUSEPPE TUCCI.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AO = *Archiv Orientální.*
BEFEO = *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient.*
B = Buston, *C'os ạbyuṅ*. Tibetan text.
Blue Annals = G. Roerich, *The Blue Annals.* Parts I-II, Calcutta 1949-53.
Concile = P. Demiéville, *Le Concile de Lhasa. Une controverse sur le quiétisme entre Bouddhistes de l'Inde et de la Chine au VIIIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne.* Paris 1952.
DM = Deb t'er dmar po.
Documents = E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou–Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux recueillis et commentés suivi des notes additionelles par . . .* Paris, s.d.
DT = Deb t'er sṅon po.
EI = *Epigraphia Indica.*
GP = G. Tucci, *Tra Giungle e Pagode*, Roma 1953.
GR = rGyal rabs gsal bai me loṅ.
HJAS = *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.*
IA = *Indian Antiquary.*
IAK = Ch. Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde*, Leipzig 1868.
IC = *Indian Culture.*
IHQ = *Indian Historical Quarterly.*
IT = G. Tucci, *Indo–Tibetica*, I-IV, Roma 1932-1941.
JA = *Journal Asiatique.*
JASB = *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
Koj = Tibetan guide to the Kojarnath monastery.
KT = bKa' taṅ sde lṅa.
Mbh. = Mahābhārata.
Ṅ = Ṅor Chronicles.
Obermiller = E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism by Buston*, Heidelberg 1931.
PT = dPao gtsug ạp'reṅ ba: *Tibetan Chronicles.*
RSO = *Rivista degli Studi Orientali.*
SP = Sum pa mk'an po: *dPag bsam ljon bzaṅ*, ed. by S. C. Das, Calcutta 1908.
TH = J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, Ch. Toussaint, *Documents de Touen–houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet.* Paris 1940.
TLT = F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, Parts I-III, London, *RAS*, 1935-1955.
TP = *T'oung Pao.*
TPS = G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Roma 1949.
VDL = *Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama.*

INTRODUCTION

During my Tibetan travels I realized the importance of a better knowledge of the cultural and political history of Nepal for the investigation of the evolution of Tibetan culture. Then in five journeys in Nepal it appeared to me that the history of this country is not contained within the limits of the valley where Kathmandu, Patan or Bhatgaon are located. The conquests of Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa gave a political unity to a country in which many principalities with different traditions and different cultures had for centuries developed or crumbled down, fought one against the other or been compelled to submit to the suzerainty of changing paramount powers.

I therefore thought it necessary to visit the interior of Nepal and specially its central and western parts which are practically unknown; they were ruled over by many families, the chaubīs rāj of the Kali Gandaki[1] and the bāīs rāj of the Jumla side. Nothing is practically ascertained about the history of these families, their origin, or the causes of their decay beyond the scanty information collected by Kirkpatrick, Hamilton, Wright, and Lévi, the interest of scholars having been chiefly concentrated upon the history of the Nepalese Valley[2].

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[1] The spelling of the geographical names follows that of the map of Nepal 8-mile 1928, 2nd ed. 1934.

[2] KIRKPATRICK, *An account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, London 1811. FRANCIS HAMILTON, *An account of the Kingdom of Nepal and of the territories annexed to this dominion by the House of Gorkha*, Edimburg 1819. DANIEL WRIGHT, *History of Nepāl, transl. from the Parbatiyā by Munshī Shew Shunker Singh and Pandit Shri Gunānand; with an introductory sketch of the Country and People of Nepāl by the Editor Daniel Wright*, Cambridge 1877, University Press. S. LÉVI, *Le Népal*, 3 vols "Annales du Musée Guimet", Volumes XVII-XIX, Paris 1905-1908.

Has any trace of the past been left in other provinces? How far did the wave of Tibetan Buddhism descend from the trans-Himalayan regions? Have Buddhism and Hinduism completely cancelled the traces of previous cults and beliefs? What can be gathered from the Nepalese side on the events referring to the history of the frontier states or to the localities on the borders of Tibet which, like Mustang, were of great importance both to the Tibetans and the Nepalese because of their location and their significance as trade centres?

To give an example, we know that some of those places carry great weight in the history of the relations between Tibet and Nepal, from the very early times and were disputed for centuries by both countries. Kuti and Kirong, for instance, are two such places. Some of the information found in certain Nepalese documents sheds occasional light on the vicissitudes through which Kirong passed. To give an example, from an inscription of Pratāpamalla in Kathmandu, which gives the genealogy of the Malla family, we find the record of the campaigns of that king against the Tibetans and the conquest of Kuti and Kirong:

yo 'kārṣīt kūtīkhāsākiram iti sahasā
bhoṭabhūpasya deśāt

This example is not isolated; what is needed is a careful investigation of the manuscripts or epigraphic records. With the purpose of giving a reply to some questions such as those put forward above, I undertook in 1952 a journey to Gorkha, Pokhara, the valley of the Kali Gandaki up to Mustang and the Tibetan-Nepalese border; then on the way back I stopped at Muktinath and Dsarkot, and proceeded down to Baglung, Palpa[1],

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[1] Near Palpa there are two places in which ruins of old buildings are still to be seen; one is on the top of the hill which overlooks the town: it is called Śrīnagar and according to tradition it was there that the castle and the old town were

Rummindei: from Rummindei I came back to Pokhara through Nuwākot [1].

In 1954, I set out on a new journey, my aim being chiefly the valley near Jumla. In fact, if we follow the clues of some Tibetan sources, it was probably from those parts of Nepal that a rMal, sMal, viz. Malla family [2] entered Western Tibet—Guge—and ruled over it for about two centuries. My itinerary ran from Pokhara to Tukuchā; then, crossing some high passes, I went to Charkābhotgaon and Tarapgaon. From these villages I came back to the Bārbung Kholā—Thuli Bheri—(rMu luṅ of the Tibetans) and through Tibrikot I reached Jumla: from Jumla I proceeded to Chilkhā, then to Dullu: from Dullu through Surkhet I reached India at Nishangara. The materials which I discovered during these journeys being numerous and very important, I think it useful to write now a preliminary report on some of the documents discovered, so that

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located: other important ruins are found down in the valley along the Palpa-Nuwākot route.

In Palpa itself there is nothing old; a few buildings, which at present are used either as a cantonment or as offices, are not older then the 18th century.

In this tour a poet and teacher of Sanskrit in the local school who became my friend brought me for inspection some leaves of a manuscript, unfortunately fragmentary, 12 leaves only being left. It is a kāvya which relates the conquests of Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa and his successors; the title of the kāvya is Śrīvijayatilaka; the author was Agnidhara. It is divided into three sargas, and these into adhyāyas.

The following chapters are preserved:

1st sarga – Gorakṣeśvarasenājiṅgaṭhagamana
 2° adhyāya. Śrīraṅgacokāgatavairivadhānantaram śṛṅgayugato vairipalāyanam
2d sarga – lakṣayugagrahaṇānantaraṃ rāgināśagamanam
3d sarga – (= adhyāya?) Kaskīsthāpanam.

It contains the story of some conquests of Damodara, Amarasiṃha etc. and it ends with the expedition against Kaskīkot and the establishment of Siddhinārāyaṇa as king of that place. I did not find trace of any manuscript of this work in Kathmandu.

[1] The diary of this journey was written in Italian, its title being: *Tra Giungle e Pagode*, Roma, Libreria dello Stato, 1953.

[2] *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. II. Rin c'en bzaṅ po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet intorno al Mille, Roma, Accademia d'Italia, 1933.

scholars may have a summary account of the new sources now at our disposal and of the first conclusions which may be drawn from them.

I shall of course come back again to these documents and shall edit them fully, but considering the importance of some of them I thought it preferable not to delay this preliminary report. Now I shall chiefly insist on those records discovered, which change or complement our current ideas on the history of Western Tibet and Western Nepal. I may say that the detailed publication of some documents has already been undertaken: this is the case with the inscriptions; with the intelligent help of my friend H. E. Kaisher Bahadur, now Secretary for Education, Health, and Local Self-Government, who takes a great interest in the records of his country I was able to collect the rubbings of about three hundred inscriptions of which about ninety are written in gupta characters and partly unedited.

The first fascicle containing the inscriptions in gupta characters is in the press and will be out shortly, in this section of the "Serie Orientale Roma" dedicated to Nepal.

The other inscriptions will follow up to Pṛthvīnārāyaṇas' times. The vaṃśāvalīs (I took photos of many thousand pages of them) are being studied in the hope of preparing a critical edition of the most important.

Some Buddhist manuscripts are also being edited, as for instance, the Abhisamayālaṅkāravyākhyā of Vimuktisena.

I must add that these pages are mere notes of travel, which give a short account of the most important things I have seen, and they are chiefly concerned with historical or archaeological documents or details and the conclusions they authorize. They do not refer, or very rarely, to ethnological, anthropological, or linguistic facts.

I cannot conclude these preliminary remarks without expressing my gratitude to my pupil and collaborator Doctor Gnoli, who undertook the painstaking task of transcribing from the rubbings or the photos the text of the most important inscriptions. We discussed together all the difficult readings and made the best of those documents, generally very badly preserved.

H. E. Richardson, who has been many years in Tibet and possesses a great knowledge of things Tibetan has been so kind as to read the proofs of my book and made many useful suggestions.

My gratitude is also to be expressed to Miss Francesca Bonardi who accompanied me in both expeditions and was responsible for the photographic documentation. The photos here published are all due to her.

Special thanks are also due to my friend H. E. Kaisher Bahadur, who once more was very generous of all sorts of assistance during my stay in Nepal and facilitated my researches with his learned and friendly cooperation. If my work has been successful, this is largely due to his suggestions and help. Nor can I forget the kind assistance I was given by General Toran Sham Sher, Acting Commander in chief, and by the Governors of the various districts I passed through.

The Sher Chan family in 1952 and in 1954 greatly facilitated my journeys, giving me suggestions as to the routes and affording me all sorts of help. They all, Lalitman, Shankar Man, Indra Man and the others who enjoy great authority all over the Tukuchā area and beyond it, have been very nice to me.

But even villagers and porters should be thanked for their patience and kindness, which in Nepal made me feel completely at home.

Chapter I.

THE LAMAIST AREA

§ 1. – *Kathmandu – Lete.* There is nothing important on the way from Kathmandu to Pokhara: the temples of Nawākot as they now stand are not very old.

In Nawākot there is an inscription of Pārthivendra Malla, Nepāli Saṃvat 803 = 1682 A.D.

In Gorkha itself, in the temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu near the parade ground, I took rubbings of three inscriptions; two of them are of Rāma (Shāh) dated respectively śrīśāka 1558 = 1636 A.D. and śrīśāka 1536 (also Vikrama saṃvat 1671) = 1614 A.D.

The first inscription would show that the dates given by S. Lévi 1606-1633 (*Le Népal*, II, p. 262) should be changed; now we have a document which proves the existence of Rāma Shāh up to 1636 at least. In Gorkha there is another inscription of Pṛthvīpati Shāh. This name is not found in Lévi, but his inscription is dated śākasaṃvat 1602 = 1680 A.D.

The temple of Kālī in Gorkha, where the throne of Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa is said to be still preserved, is almost collapsing and requires urgent repair. In the Gorakṣa-cave there is a long inscription in gupta characters but so effaced that only a few letters can be read here and there.

Even in Pokhara there is nothing deserving mention: along the track to Sarangkot and Kaskīkot many ruins of castles can be seen on top of the hills: they are built with irregular stones. Near Nodana some huge pillars with no designs or carvings are still extant; near the village, where there is great scarcity of water, there are many water-tanks which look rather old. Many of them are no longer in use. All these facts show that this part of the country was rich in castles and was much more populated than it is now. The villages never recovered after the conquest of Kaskīkot.

§ 2. – *The Thāk district and Mustang*. At Lārjung[1] about two hours march before Tukuchā, capital of the Thāk district, Lamaism begins: we find there the first temple, GP, p. 68. The Tibetanization becomes more marked as one proceeds northwards. The Tibetan language is spoken side by side with Thākali and in Tukuchā it supersedes the latter almost completely. Near the Tibetan frontier, Mustang is the capital of the district of Glo sman t'aṅ which even at the time of the author of the ạDsam bu gliṅ rgyas bšad (died according to Vassiliev 1830) was Tibetan: it passed over to Nepal after Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa[2].

Lamaism and Buddhism join hands here: but after an early expansion of Hinduism it would seem, at least to judge from the small lha k'aṅ newly built in this place and in Tukuchā, that Lamaism is again recovering.

GP, p. 71. "At Tukuchā there are only Lamaist temples (lha k'aṅ); one cannot, strictly speaking, refer to gompas, (the name given to convents) as there are no monastic communities, but only custodians (dkon gñer), almost all laymen, belonging to the Karmapa sect which has its chief monastery at Tshurpu, N. W. of Lhasa. The principal temple stands outside the little town and is placed under the custody of a lama, native of Tukuchā. He studied medicine at Lhasa in the famous convent of the Chagpori, but the vicinity to Nepal and India has induced him to adopt a curious synchretism consisting in the use of herbs that he learnt in Tibet, and allopathy of European mark. He dispenses pills that have been blessed, magic formulae and charms, but he also prepares European medicines, including penicilene, and he does not hesitate to give injections if he finds a patient brave enough to submit to such treatment.

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[1] But the local pronunciation is rather Nadsung. So also Tukuchā is pronounced Tukchà.

[2] Sometimes it is written also Klo sman t'aṅ. Perhaps the form klo is better; the Klo po are the southern tribes of Tibet also in the east, bordering with Bhutan, ạDsam bu gliṅ rgyas bšad, p. 44 of my ms. In the same work p. 12 Klo sman t'aṅ is described as being to the East, downwards of sPu raṅs, not very far from it; "though it has a Tibetan population, its majority is Indian; formerly this country was subject to Tibet, but now it has been taken by the Gorkhas".

In the chapel in the old house of the Sher Chan I found nothing worthy of note except an old copy of the bKa' ạgyur written in letters of gold on great sheets of blue paper and the manuscript of a liturgical work with some references to the region; as I could not purchase it, I had the sheets that interested me photographed by my companions.

A third little temple, the most ancient of all, is in the heart of the city; it is called the "temple of the queen", in memory I know not of what event and of what person. My attention was attracted by some paintings on wood representing the *Arhats* who are entrusted with the task of preserving the tradition of the law, Padmasaṃbhava, Milaraspa, the celebrated ascetic and poet of the Land of the Snows, and finally the cycle of the Ži k'ro. These are very important divinities, some terrifying, others peaceful, who appear to the conscious principle of the deceased in the intermediate period between death and rebirth, and determine his future destiny. They are described in a famous book which is recited by the bedside of the dying to instruct them on the dangers they will meet as they have exhaled their last breath, and on the means for avoiding them 1).

High up on the walls of this same little temple there are the painted images of the ascetics of the bKa' rgyud

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1) Viz. the Bar do t'os grol, transl. by W. Y. EVANS-WENTZ, *The Tibetan book of the dead*, London 1927, and by myself. *Il libro Tibetano dei morti*, Milano 1949.

pa sect. They wear the usual cassock of coarse cotton with a scarf of the same material slung over their shoulders which they use to fix their limbs in those uncomfortable and difficult positions prescribed by some schools of the Yoga (yogapaṭṭa).

These paintings are important, for, so far as I know, they are the only example of local art unaffected by Nepalese influences. It is difficult to date them. But it seems to me that they cannot be earlier than the 16th century ".

From this place upwards many caves are excavated in the abrupt cliffs: the fact that on the rocks in the proximity small gompas either in ruins or still open to worship can occasionally be seen, does not mean, as one might at a first glance suppose, that these caves were retreats (mgon k'aṅ, ri k'rod) for hermits. The country was never inhabited to such an extent or so rich and productive as to maintain so big a comunity of ascetics as that which one may suppose to have taken shelter in these caves. There is hardly any doubt that the grottos were old settlements before the introduction of Buddhism and with it, of a higher culture. The aboriginal people were troglodytes, using the caves in winter and shifting to the plateaus in summer for grazing, just as was the case for a long time in Western Tibet also. But the fact that caves are excavated in cliffs of very difficult access might also suggest a certain insecurity and a standing danger of incursions. When the situation changed and civilization increased, villages grew and developed in the valleys along the rivers; the old location of Tukuchā also was not where the tawn is now built but on the plateau which overtowers it to the north east.

For the use of the Tibetan pilgrims a guide book has been written of the country, its title being: C'u mig brgya rtsa brgyad, sku ts'ab gter lṅa, mu le gaṅs, gu ru gsaṅ p'ug sogs kyi dkar c'ag gsal bai me loṅ ṅo mts'ar can rnams. This booklet contains the legends concerning C'u mig, and its 108 springs, viz. Muktinath (it connects it with Manasarovar, Padmasaṃbhava and the 84 siddhas[1]), the mountain Mu le gaṅs ri, the cave of Padmasaṃbhava, the monastery of sKu gzugs sde lṅa, in the proximity of a village called 'Od gsal gliṅ or gSum pa sgaṅ.

Mu le sgaṅs[2] is the local name of the Dhaulagiri and it gives the name to the Bārbung Kholā, called by the Tibetans Mu luṅ (rMu luṅ), the valley of Mu, rMu. It is the abode of a sa bdag C'u bya sṅon po "the blue water-bird". The Dhaulagiri is conceived as a *gur k'aṅ*, a tent of five colours: on the top there is the gYu ạbrug, the turquoise[3] dragon, to the right there is a lion, to the left a ạK'yuṅ.

The gSaṅ p'ug "the secret cave" is the cave of Guru Rin po c'e, Padmasaṃbhava, on which see GP, p. 79:

"From Samar the road to Ghiling branches off in two directions. We took the shortest and most fatiguing as it led us to a famous grotto. The Tibetans call it the raṅ ạbyuṅ mc'od rten, "the self-born chorten" i.e. that appeared miraculously. The cave owes this name to a great natural pillar, round in shape, which stands in the middle, almost as though to support the weight of the vault. Many images are carved on the rough stone of the walls. Personages who cannot be identified alternate with one another; tradition holds that a noble and ancient figure represents mṄa' ris jo bo, Atīśa, the Indian teacher who was invited in the 11th century[1] by the king of Western Tibet, and was the chief instrument in the revival and rebirth of Buddhism in the Land of the Snows. But the images of Padmasambhava are the most numerous. Thus the two sects that struggle one against the other for the possession of the souls, the Red sect, said to have been founded by Padmasaṃbhava, and the Yellow sect that traces its origins back through Tsonkhapa to Atīśa, dwell together in the grotto. There is however no doubt that the grotto was a sacred spot prior to the arrival of the Buddhist missionaries. Facing the central monolith, on the further side, some steps lead to a wider space that would seem to have been an altar. In some holes excavated by man, cinders and branches of juniper have been found. Juniper is the plant held sacred by the Bonpos; the smoke of the juniper drives off evil spirits and for this reason the Buddhists make use of it in certain rites and for exorcisms, and in the popular liturgy it is known by the name of sang (bsaṅs). Pilgrimages from all parts of the country come to this famous grotto and fictile images of deities, and more especially of Padmasaṃbhava, are heaped in corners in memory of the pious visit" (Fig. 1).

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[1] On Muktinath some Hindu pandits have collected much information from the Purāṇas and Tantras referring to places in this part of Nepal, cf. Bhavānīśaṅkara Śāstrī, Śālagrāmarahasyam, śrīmuktikṣetragaṇḍakīprabhṛtivividhatīrthavarṇanapuraḥsaram, Janakpur Dham, Darbhanga.

[2] For this name of the Dhaulagiri cf. mu, "snow" in Bunan language, H. A. JAESCHKE, *Note on the pronunciation of the Tibetan Language*, *JRASB*, vol. XXXIV, 1865, p. 91; mug "snow" in Manchad, A. H. FRANCKE, *Vokabular der Manchadsprache*, *ZDMG*, Bd. LXXI, 1917, p. 137.

The fact that the valley bordering on the north the group of the Dhaulagiri is called rMu luṅ excludes to my mind any connection with mu le, mo le, mo lai "girl" in the ạbrog pa dialects of W. Tibet. SHAW, *JASB*, 1878, I, p. 57, F. W. THOMAS, TLT, I, p. 102. Mu le gaṅs ri, is perhaps an amphigloss: the snow mountain.

[3] In some lists of the sa bdag, gYu ạbrug is located in the South: Bya, the bird, in the North: but in this case it is red. TPS, p. 722.

The gompa of sKu gzugs sde lṅa (GP, p. 97) is built on a ridge to the NE of Mārpha: it is ruined but contains important works of art which were spared when the temple was burnt down during the Nepalese-Tibetan wars. It is rÑiṅ ma pa: a dkon gñer takes care of it. The monastery was enlarged by a Lama from Eastern Tibet, who was responsible for the revival of Lamaism in this district. The rÑiṅ ma pa penetration followed that of the Sa skya pas who left their dgon pas in the northern part of Glo bo.

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[1] He came to Tibet in the year 1042 A.D. This is the local tradition: but I think is wrong; though Atīśa spent some time in Guge (mṄa' ris) he was an Indian: the person here alluded to is perhaps mṄa' ris pa, Blue Annals, p. 862 ff.

This lama was Saṅs rgyas bzaṅ po; I found a rnam t'ar containing his biography: Saṅs rgyas bzaṅ poi rnam t'ar šes bya bai me loṅ, fol. 75, mss.; he was born in K'ams in rMa zla sgaṅ in the year šiṅ rta. Unfortunately since there is no number to the cycle and no fact or person referred in it is chronologically known, it is impossible to state when this lama lived. He travelled extensively in Tibet, India, Nepal (the places are recorded in the biography). After India and Western Tibet he entered Glo bo sman t'aṅ (Mustang) both upper and lower (sTod and sMad) and he went to Mar p'ags viz. the Mārpha of the maps [1]; then he proceeded to meet the sgom pa of sKu gzugs sde lṅa (but at p. 77, *b* sKu ts'ab sde lṅa, which is the same) near the village of Som bhi [2]: in the monastery there is an effigy (sku ts'ab) self-created (raṅ byon) of the gter ston bDud ạdul rdo rje [3]. Then he goes to T'ag p'yogs [4] viz. the Thāk district, the capital of which is Tukuchā, and there he paid a visit to gu ru bsgrub gnas gsaṅ p'ug, the cave of Padmasaṃbhava already referred to. Other places of his pilgrimage are recorded towards the northern part of this district: Sa dkar dgon, Ts'e rog rdsoṅ (not located) where he met the Ts'e rog sprul sku, then

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[1] See GP, p. 72. It is still now bKa' brgyud pa.

[2] Perhaps the small village below the monastery itself on the NE of the same.

[3] Most certainly the 13th (from Po to pa) Žva nag Karmapa, TPS, p. 682.

[4] But in the colophon of a mss. of rDo rje gcod pa in the small lha k'aṅ of the Sher Chan family: sprug c'es pronounced: tugce, transcribes Tukuchā: it is said there to be between C'u mig, sKu ts'ab sde lṅa, and gSaṅ p'ug.

Glo bo dge dkar, p. 55 and 79, *b* (written also k're dkar[1] 75, *b*), Ts'ugs (Chhuk of the maps), Ts'e le (Chele), P'ye legs (probably Ghiling), sKags viz. Kāgbeni on the confluence of the Muktinath river with the Kali Gandaki which is considered a very important place of pilgrimage and from where the pilgrims going to Muktinath take back home some water for the piṇḍa to the ancestors. In T'ag a merchant Ti se smar becomes his dānapati. He spends most of his time near Mārpha and sKu gzugs sde lṅa, Tukuchā and dGe k'ar (the name of the temple was 'Od gsal kuṅ k'yab, p. 81). As a whole, he says, (p. 79, *b*) Glo sman t'aṅ is largely under the control of the Sa skya pas; this fact is confirmed by my survey of the temples of the country and by some literary sources.

In these places he put an end to the slaughter of animals for sacrificial purposes as was the custom of the black Bon. This shows that at that time the Thākalis were still practising their original religion, uninfluenced or influenced only very slightly by Buddhism. (GP, p. 70). This area seems therefore to have been at the time of Saṅs rgyas bzaṅ po inhabited by many non-Buddhists, as some survival of ancient beliefs still show. Saṅs rgyas bzaṅ po is the author of minor works such as mTs'o skyes gsaṅ gsum c'os ạbyuṅ pad mai rgyal ts'ab, foll. 25 written in the year sa-stag in Glo boi gnas mc'og dge dkar printed in bDe c'en c'os grva. It is a brief summary of the rDsogs c'en doctrines composed for the purpose of spreading the doctrine in this country.

In Kāgbeni I was able to buy two books; one is an old and correct manuscript of the Pad ma t'aṅ yig: O rgyan pad mai rnam t'ar rgyas pa, divided into two parts, Ka and K'a (pages 134 and 149 respectively). It is composed of 117 chapters. In the dKar c'ag it is written that it was made to be copied in the country of Mu le gaṅs can, Dhaulagiri, and properly in sKag rdsoṅ (Kāgbeni) of La dbyaṅ c'ags[1] by druṅ dam Pad ma rgyan and sGrub pa mo dbaṅ bzaṅ, two ladies (mo gñis); the first belonged to the school of mK'an po C'os skyabs rnam rgyal, abbot of the monastery or seminary C'os grva c'en po T'ub bstan rnam rgyal, and a descendent of Kun dga' bsam ạp'el, probably monks of the rÑiṅ ma pa sect.

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[1] Which is perhaps better, dGe dkar being a learned spelling: K're dkar = dGe dkar corresponds to Tegar about three and half miles to the NW of Mustang.

The other manuscript is a rnam t'ar of a Tibetan ascetic K'yuṅ po rnal ạbyor (TPS, p. 586) who was originally a Bon master of Ra maṅs of sÑe mo, and then was converted to the rDsogs c'en sect; he went to India and there travelled extensively. The biography was written summarizing what had been told to his pupils: Žaṅ rGan mo C'os seṅ, Bla ma sMeu ston pa, Bla ma rMog cog[2] and Ñe gnas Rin c'en rdo rje[3].

§ 3. – *Mustang*[4]. In GP, p. 87 I have given a short account of the main temples of Mustang: generally belonging to the Sa skya pas they are now collapsing and I am afraid that in a few years only the ruins will remain of these imposing buildings which belong to the best period of Tibetan art. The paintings on the walls, though greatly damaged by the water leaking from the ceiling, are executed with great accuracy: they are stricly related by style and composition to the žiṅ k'ams "paradises" of the sKu ạbum of Gyantse. This means that they were the work of the same schools of painting which flourished in the 15th and 16th centuries in the Sa skya monasteries, the richest and most influential, at least until then, not only in gTsaṅ but also in the adjoining provinces. The Sa skya pas dominated in Glo sman t'aṅ: the bKa' brgyud pas and the rÑiṅ ma pas could not compete with them and generally they represent a second wave of Lamaism which penetrated at a late date into the country.

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[1] This was therefore the name of the territory near Kāgbeni.

[2] On rMog cog pa see Blue Annals, pp. 733-741, Kloṅ rdol vol. za, p. 32 *a*.

[3] Blue Annals, p. 749.

[4] Mentang in SVEN HEDIN, *Southern Tibet*, Vol. II, p. 320.

The style of the metrical inscriptions also is very similar to that of Gyantse and is equally highly elaborated and pretentious.

In the inscription of the T'ub c'en lha k'aṅ under the painting representing the Abhirati, the paradise of Akṣobhya, allusion is made to its authors (expert in the art of painting = pir gyi ạdu byed) [1].

From the inscription of the other temple of Byams c'en gzi 'od ạbar ba, we know that the author of the murals was a Nepalese Bal po Dhe va Lha dga' (part of his name is given in sanskrit, dheva = deva, and part in Tib. lha = deva, Lha dga': devapriya devanandin, devarata?) This fact confirms once more what I have stated in TPS, that the Sa skya pas had very often recourse to Nepalese artists, whom they invited to Tibet to embellish the temples they were building.

It is not surprising that Nepalese painters worked in these temples of Mustang, so near to the artistic centres of Nepal. A revival of Lamaism took place in these parts through the zeal of the Ṅor sub-sect of the Sa skya pas, started by Kun dga' bzaṅ po [2] who came from its chief monastery, Ṅor.

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[1] *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, I, p. 30: lag pai ạdu byed. On the word *pir* see ibid. p. 30.

[2] TPS, p. 124 and 157. The date of his birth there given is wrong; he was born in the year c'u k'yi 1382 (not 1387 as proposed by S. CH. DAS, *Reu mig*, pp. 62–66); he died in the year me glaṅ 1457; he founded the Ṅor monastery in the year 1429.

Many of the temples and dgon pas of Mustang side still belong to the Ṅor pas, of which some of the most important were beside those of Mustang, in Chārāng (Fig. 2) and Ghiling. According to a bca’ yig, preserved in the monastery of Ghiling (called dGe luṅ c’os sde) dated me stag, 1446, Kun dga’ bzaṅ po came personally to these places from sMar t’aṅ, bKra šis lhun gyi sgrub gliṅ[1], and prescribed stricter discipline for the monasteries.

These data are fully confirmed by literary evidence which, when compared to the inscriptions of Mustang, allows us to fix the date of the paintings.

In fact, in the biography of Kun dga’ bzaṅ po we find the names of some princes of Mustang who were responsible for the expansion of Lamaism in this part of the world: some of these names are also recorded in the inscriptions in the temples.

From the rnam t’ar of the founder of the Ṅor monastery, Kun dga’ bzaṅ po: rGyal ba rdo rje ạc’aṅ kun dga’ bzaṅ poi rnam t’ar pa legs bšad c’u bo ạdus pai rgya mts’o yon tan yid bžin nor bui ạbyuṅ gnas (p. 76), we know that Buddhism entered the country in the fifteenth century. This was due to A me dpal. This person belonged to the gNam ru k’yuṅ pa family (gduṅ rus), the members of which were officials (druṅ skor) of mṄa’ris rdsoṅ[2]. The c’os rgyal of mṄa’ ris ạBum lde mgon[3] appointed A me dpal as rdsoṅ dpon of the frontier-rdsoṅ (rgyab rdsoṅ)[1] gTsaṅ raṅ bya p'oi že va (Chārāng). A me dpal tried his very best to spread Buddhism in the country under his rule. His first attempt with Bo doṅ[2] was not successful. He was more successful with the Sa skya pas, but the real person who greatly contributed to the spread of Buddhism in this part of the world was Kun dga' bzaṅ po who was invited three times by A me dpal to the territory to which he had been appointed, in order to preach Buddhism there.

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[1] Not identified.

[2] It is the same as rDsoṅ k’a of the rGyal rabs ạp’rul gyi lde mig of bSod nams grags pa fol. 39, *b*; it is the chief town of the Tibetan districts north of Kyirong. In the map of Nepal: Tongkha-Dzong.

[3] One would think of Grags ạbum lde king of Ladakh—who is supposed to have lived between ca. 1480-1470. But from the second biography of Kun dga’ bzaṅ po (rDo rje ạc’aṅ kun dga’ bzaṅ poi rnam t’ar legs bšad

On the first occasion he brought a set of the Holy Scriptures and dedicated the paintings on the walls (log ris = logs bris) representing the 12 maṇḍalas of the Yoga class in the bKa' ạgyur lha k'aṅ; then he founded sTeṅ c'en ạdul grva and dedicated its gtsug lag k'aṅ in which there were about one hundred monks. He led the foundations of Brag dkar c'os sde t'eg c'en dar rgyas gliṅ[3].

The dānapati A me dpal was ordained, rab ạbyuṅ pa, and on being initiated he was given the name

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c'u bo ạdus pai rgya mts'o) contained in the De bžin gšegs pa t'ams cad kyi bkrod pa gcig pai lam c'en gsuṅ ṅag gi rin po c'ei bla ma brgyud pai rnam t'ar, vol. 2, p. 32 *a* we gather that this ạBum lde mgon was the c'os rgyal of mÑa' ris rdsoṅ, now Dsongka, a descendent of the "spotless progeny of the C'os rgyal of Tibet" A me dpal after being sent to Tsaṅ raṅ bya p'o acquired Glo bo as his private property (Glo bo k'oṅ gis sger du ts'oṅ).

Kun dga' bzaṅ po, during his first visit completed the bKa' ạgyur which he found there, (this means that some chapels existed before) and he laid the foundations of Brag dkar c'os sde T'eg c'en dar rgyas gliṅ. During his second visit he made the žal da (other biography: žal lta) of the bKa' ạgyur which had been dedicated on the occasion of this first coming to Glo bo and repaired the rNam rgyal c'os sde (now rNam rgyal, two miles North of Mustang. See GP, p. 87). Perhaps during this time the building of the royal palace now in ruins was started (Fig. 3).

1) But according to the work quoted in the preceding note he was appointed dpon sa of sKya ạp'ar pai sde: he is called in this same work A ma dpal.

2) P'yog las rnam rgyal, TPS, p. 704, n. 848. Blue Annals, II, p. 777 ff.

3) To the east of Mustang.

of bZaṅ po rgyal mts’an. Before being ordained he had had a son, C’os rgyal A mgon bzaṅ po, whose sons were Ts’aṅs pa bkra šis and the Glo bo mk’an c’en[1].

On the occasion of his second visit, Kun dga’ bzaṅ po brought with him the Sa skya pa scriptures and held a religious meeting, c’os ạk’or, and did his very best to maintain religion on a pure and high level (record of that in the bca’ yig of Ghiling). Following the advice of the King of Guge K’ri nam mk’a’ dbaṅ po[2], he invited the Guge mk’an c’en C’os ñid seṅ ge, the C’os rje rin po c’e from Pu hraṅs and the mk’an po Rin c’en bsod nams of Spiti. The third time in the year me yos (1447) he returned, invited by A mgon bzaṅ po and inspected (žal ta sogs mdsad) some copies of the bKa’ ạgyur written in golden letters and a golden image of Byams pa and many religious objects (sKu gsuṅ t’ugs rten) and inspected about one thousand monks in T’ub bstan dar rgyas gliṅ[3].

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[1] So we have the following genealogy, completed with data of the rGyal rabs ạp’rul gyi lde mig, p. 39 *b*:

A me dpal (bZaṅ po rgyal mts’an, so called in honour of Kun dga’ bzaṅ po).
|
C’os rgyal A mgon bzaṅ po (not recorded in lDe mig)
|
Ts’aṅs pa bkra šis (lDe mig: bKra šis mgon). — Glo bo mk’an c’en

[2] K’ri Nam mk’a’ dbaṅ po is perhaps the same as king Blo bzaṅ rab brtan, a contemporary of Ñag dbaṅ grags pa, a pupil of Tsoṅ k’a pa (1357-1419), see Tucci, *Tibetan Notes*, *HJAS*, XI, p. 484-5 (where “list of Abbots” is a misprint for “list of Kings”). Blo bzaṅ rab brtan in fact looks like a religious name taken by the king considered a very pious man and a strong supporter of the Yellow sect when he was ordained. The same is the case of A me dpal who had two names, one as a layman and the other after he had been ordained.

In fact we read in the second biography already referred to that the king of Guge K’ri nam mk’a’ dbaṅ po was at a certain time ordained just as A me dpal: but the name he then took is not given.

[3] Besides there are in these temples many stucco images now collapsing (Fig. 4).

In the inscriptions we find mentioned either directly or indirectly the names of A me dpal bzaṅ po, dGe bai dpal most probably the son of Ts'aṅs pa bkra šis; C'os ñid bzaṅ po is perhaps the C'os ñid seṅ ge bzaṅ referred to above: in the inscriptions n. 1 Ts'aṅ pa contains most probably an allusion to Ts'aṅs pa bkra šis.

I publish here the fragments of the inscriptions preserved in both temples.

T'ugs c'en lha k'aṅ:

– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – [sku]
Zur p'ud lṅa pai brgyud . . . . . . bžin yan lag drug cu sñan pai gsuṅ ||
rin c'en ạbyuṅ gnas c'u yi gter bžin zab ciṅ rgya c'ei t'ugs mṅa' ba |
kun mk'yen rgyal bai sras kyi mt'u bo sa yi sñiṅ po rgyal gyur cig ||
mi dbaṅ sa yi dbaṅ p'yug ạdi yis legs byas dpal ạbyor bzaṅ po la[1] |
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
lan cig min par rgyal bai spyod pa rlabs c'en bstan pa yis ||
srid las ạdas kyaṅ ạgro bai lam ạdir srid pai ts'ul ạdsin pa |
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
ha le rnam dkar las kyi ri mo ạdi ni a ma mts'ar ||
lugs gñis bya bai k'ur gyi mi dal bžin |
rnam dpyod blo gros mc'og tu mi smin la ||
loṅs spyod gser gyi dra bas gdoṅ pai –
rdsoṅ dpon a me dad pai sbyin bdag yin ||
'od zer dra bai ri mo ạdi ni ạjig rten gyi. |
– – – – – – – – – gžan gyi min ||
'on kyaṅ sri (?) btsan pir gyi ạdu byed sprul pa na |
ts'aṅs pa bdag kyaṅ gdoṅ bži sprul nas blta bar brtsoms ||

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[1] Allusion to the king's name [A me] dpal bzaṅ po.

gžan p'an sems kyi 'od stoṅ can |
sñiṅ stobs c'en poi rta ljaṅ gi[s] ||
ạgro bai ma rig mun sel ba |
sems dpa' mc'og gi dge legs gyur ||
tsaṅs daṅ brgya sbyin dbaṅ poi dgra la sogs |
ạjig rten c'e bar grags pa t'ams cad kyi ||
ral pai cod pan sa la ạgrems mdsad pa |
t'ub pa dpal sbas mc'od pas mñes par byas ||
gser gyi sa gži bai ḍur rya me tog gsar pas rnam par spras – |
mdog mdzes sdoṅ bui ldiṅ k'aṅ daṅ ldan byi rui k'ri šiṅ mgo sogs gyo ||
rin c'en ba gam. . . 'od kyi ñe bar k'yud |
mu tig dmar pas spras pai k'ri la c'os kyi bdud rtsii . . . ạgums ||
|| oṃ svasti
mar rgad ñi 'od daṅ ạgrogs sku yi dpal ni mṅon dga' žiṅ 1) |
žiṅ mc'og gtso bo t'ub dbaṅ – – do šal na [b] zas mdses ||
mdses sdug 'od kyis ạgro ạdii sgrib sel ñes pa kun las bsruṅs |
. . . . ||
mi dbaṅ mc'og tu mi zad mt'u ldan gaṅ |
gaṅ na bsod nams p'ul byuṅ dar bai mc'og ||
mc'og tu mṅon sum gyi mts'on dge bai dpal |
dpal ạdi skye ba gžan du'ṅ ñe ba ñid ||
lha dbaṅ druṅ na ñe dbaṅ ltar gnas ciṅ |
legs pai spyod la rjes su spyod byed pa ||
ya rabs mc'og ạdis ya rabs ji bžin du |
c'os ñid bzaṅ pos nor bu ạdi bsgrubs ||
rig pa p'ul byuṅ mk'as pai mdun sar mk'as pa yi |
yid kyi dga' ston ston par de la skal bzaṅ can ||
ri moi rnam ạp'rul – – – |
– – – – – – – ||

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1) Verse in imitation of yamaka, madhyāntayamaka, Kāvyādarśa III, v. 47.

bsod nams rgya mts'os rab bskrun pai |
ye šes c'en poi dpag bsam šiṅ ||
ạgro ba re skoṅ nor bu c'e |
dge legs dpag med rtsol bar mdsad ||
riṅ c'en sna bdun ra ba daṅ ldan rab gsal 'od kyi ạp'reṅ bas ạk'yud |
za šiṅ ra bai skyed ts'al do rar srid me pa la yun ma ldem ||
bžin bzaṅ nu mai ge sar ṅom žiṅ yid bžin nor bui dogs pas brtsen |
lha mai (?) – – bde ts'ogs ạbyor bas mṅon dga' t'os pai groṅ de'o ||
de la sñiṅ rje yun riṅ ạbri ba bžin |
de ni sñiṅ rje nam yaṅ yoṅs ma btaṅ ||
las kyi dbaṅ gi[s] de ltar de gyur tam |
de ñid mt'u yi de ni de ltar gyur ||

Byams c'en gzi 'od ạbar bai gtsug lag k'aṅ:

k'ams gsum ạk'or ba ñon moṅs las – – |
– – – – – – – – – –
rgyal mdsad rdo rjei sems dpai skur bstan nas ||
mi bskyod rdo rje k'ro boi ts'ul ạdsin pa |
gsum pai k'ams gsum rnam rgyal la p'yag ạts'al ||
lha c'en la sogs ạjig rten rjes bzuṅ p'yir |
rnam par snaṅ mdsad t'ugs las sprul pa yis ||
k'ro boi rgyal po me ltar ạbar ba la |
lha c'en brgyad kyi[s] bskor la p'yag ạts'al lo ||
ạgro ba c'os can sgrib pai bud šiṅ rnams |
– – – – – – – – – – ||
– – – – – – – – – – |
ạdi ạjigs byed dgu yis bskor la p'yag ạts'al lo ||
k'ro bo rnams kyi bgegs dpuṅ ži bar mdsod |
p'yogs skyoṅ rnams kyi las rnams dge bar mdsod ||
ạjig rten skyoṅ bas ạjig rten c'os bžin skyoṅs |
brtan bsruṅ ạk'or bcas rnams la p'yag ạts'al lo ||

rgyal bai sku gsuṅ t’ugs kyi gtsug lag ạdi |
mt’oṅ t’os reg pa ts’am gyi grol ba daṅ ||
p’yag sogs bskor ba ts’am gyi[s] grol ba daṅ |
yid la bsam pa ts’am gyi[s] grol bar šog ||
ạdi bžeṅs dge ba rab dkar dri med des |
sbyin bdag sku mc’ed sras daṅ btsun mor bcas ||
ạgro kun sgrib sbyaṅ ts’ogs gñis rab brdsogs nas |
kun mk’yen rgyal bai go ạp’aṅ myur t’ob šog ||
gaṅ žig mt’oṅ ba ñi mai mdaṅs ạp’rog pa |
byams c’en ạgro bai mun sel nor bu ạdi ||
druṅ c’en brtson pai gru gziṅs la brten nas |
gdul bya skal ldan ts’aṅs pas mt’oṅ ba mts’ar ||
dus gsum rgyal bai bstan pa sruṅ bai p’yir |
k’ro bo can la k’ro boi skur bstan nas ||
log ạdren bdud dpuṅ ạjoms par mdsad pa yi |
k’ro c’en ạjig rten skyoṅ la p’yag ạts’al lo ||
stoṅ pa ñid kyi ye šes rdo rje yis |
dṅos por blta bai ri bo mt’on po rnams ||
kun nas ạjoms mdsad rdo rje sems dpa’ la |
k’ro c’en brgyad kyi[s] bskor la p’yag ạts’al lo ||
dus gsum rgyal bai sprin las gcig bsdus pa |
ạgro bo ạdul p’yir k’ro boi skur ston pa ||
rab ạjigs k’ro c’en me ltar ạbar ba la |
gza’ brgyad rgyu skar gyis bskor p’yag ạts’al lo ||
ñon moṅs dug ldan rnam par dag pai dṅos |
ye šes lṅa yi ṅo bos gžan p’an mdsad ||
rdo rje sems dpa’ rigs rnams kun gyi bdag |
p’yogs skyoṅ bcu yi[s] bskor la p’yag ạts’al lo ||
rgyal ba kun gyi ye šes gcig bsdus nas |
ạk’or lo ạgyur bai gzugs su legs ston pa ||
rab dkar ạgyiṅ bag (?) rdo rje dril bu bsnams |
p’yag rdor rgyal c’en bžis bskor p’yag ạts’al lo ||
– – – – – – – – – – |
ser sna sbyoṅ p’yir nam mk’ai rgyal poi sku ||

mñam ñid bya grub ye šes ṅo no ñid |
don yod grub pai las rigs p'yag ạts'al lo ||
gdul bya gdul p'yir 'od dpag med pai gsuṅ |
kun k'yab spyan ras gzigs kyi skur ston pa ||
so sor kun rtog ye šes ṅo bo ñid |
ạgro ba ạdul bai las rigs p'yag ạts'al lo ||
rdo rje sems dpa' mi ạgyur rdo rjei t'ugs |
gsal mdsad me loṅ ye šes ṅo bo ñid ||
– – – – – – – – – – |
k'ams gsum rnam rgyal las rigs p'yag ạts'al lo ||
rnam par snaṅ mdsad ye šes sgyu mai sku |
mig ạp'rul lta bur gzugs kyi skur bstan nas ||
c'os kyi dbyiṅs kyi ye šes ṅo bo ñid |
de bžin gšegs pai las rigs p'yag ạts'al lo ||
mi zad nam mk'a' mdsod kyi smon lam kyi |
gdul bya mt'a' yas nam mk'a' k'yab pa rnams ||
mt'a' med ạk'or bai ạjigs las skyob mdsad pa |
rtsa rgyud rtsa bai nam sñin la p'yag ạts'al ||
gaṅ gi k'yod sku mt'oṅ bar gyur pa'm[1] |
k'yod gsuṅ lan gcig t'os pa tsam gyis kyaṅ ||
srid žii rgud pa mt'a' dag skyob byed pa |
rtsa rgyud rtsa bai ạgro ạdul la p'yag ạts'al ||
dbaṅ poi gžu ltar bkra ba yis |
dkyil ạk'or t'abs šes zuṅ ạjug ạdi ||
bal po dhe va lha dga' yis |
yid lag – – ñi mas ạp'rul ||
oṃ svasti |
rnam dag c'os skui nam mk'a' yaṅ pa la |
ts'ogs gñis rluṅ gi šugs kyi[s] rab bskyod žiṅ ||
mk'yen btrse c'a šas ma lus yoṅs su rdsogs |
sa gsum gsal mdsad skye dgui gtsug na rgyal ||
gaṅ gi daṅ por byaṅ c'ub t'ugs bskyed nas |

[1] Verse defective; corr.: pa ạm bisyllabic.

bsod nams ye šes ts'ogs gñis mt'ar p'yin nas ||
'og min stug po bkod pai žiṅ mc'og tu |
ạja' lus rdo rjei sku ru mṅon saṅs rgyas ||
mts'an daṅ dpe byad bzaṅ pos yoṅs su spras |
gdul bya sa bcui dbaṅ p'yug ạba' žig la ||
zab daṅ rgya c'ei t'eg c'en c'os ạk'or bskor |
ạc'ar nub mi mṅa' rgyun du rtag pas bžugs ||
ma dag žiṅ gi ạgro ba bsgral bai p'yir |
sprul skui mdsad pa rnam sprul. . .
. . . mdsad pa. . . . |

§ 4. – *The survivals of pre-buddhistic religion.* The road to Charkā (ạC'ar dga' according to the local lamas) branches off opposite the bridge of Jomoson, where there is, on the left of the Kali Gandaki, the custom-house and, now, on the right, a police check post. One proceeds to Dāngarjong, (Fig. 5) where only some ruins are left.

The local priest is a layman who attends to his priestly functions in a small chapel of his humble house. He is a rÑiṅ ma pa, though his relation with a sect is very loose. I obtained from him the information as regards the existence of Bonpo communities in Charkā and Tarāp and a Bonpo manuscript. This book is composed on the pattern of the Buddhist Tantras and contains various mantras in which the essentials of the Bon doctrine are said to be expressed. The interlocutor of Mi bo gšen rab is Ha ža gsaṅ ba; it contains allusion to the division of the universe into two sides, yod pa and med pa, corresponding to the good and evil creation 1).

Its main point is the fundamental difference between be-

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1) Cf. TPS, p. 731.
As to Ha ža, it is the name of a much discussed people. See fundamental literature in PETECH, *Alcuni nomi geografici nel* " *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* ", *RSO*, vol. XXII, p. 83. THOMAS, TLT, P. II, p. 1 ff. and P. III, p. 1 ff.

ings and their painful existence, and the purpose of the revelation is to come to their rescue. Ha ža asks the master, sTon pa, which path should be followed in order to help the suffering creatures. The reply is that the only help to universal sorrow is the "shining gem of the Bon". Before the revelation is announced, the demons try to prevent it but the force of the Bon placates them.

Pv'ya yul[1], the country of Pv'ya, is overrun by the bdud: the help of sTon pa is requested: they also are submitted (important list of liturgical instruments).

The same story is told of the Klu. Then, maṇḍala of Ts'e bdag and Ts'e lcam, their iconography and invocation in order to get gyaṅ viz. siddhi. It consists of sixteen chapters. The title of the Ms. has become illegible.

During my journey in 1952 I noticed some survivals of non–buddhist rituals; I refer to what I wrote in the diary of that journey.

GP, p. 90-91. "On our way back to the camp we saw a lama on horseback coming towards us. He was bearing a puppet, stuffed with green plants that looked like juniper, covered with a green tunic; its face was hidden behind a white mask on which human features were drawn. A five-pointed wooden tiara was placed like a crown on its head and each of the five triangular rims was inlaid with the figure of one of the five supreme Buddhas; round its neck hung silver pendants. A young man followed, carrying a kind of tray on which were placed offerings and little branches of burnt juniper. Alongside the man on horseback walked a lama intoning psalms and beating the drum of the sorcerers (ḍamaru). Another lama led the horse, holding in his hand a while scarf, the other end of which was tied to the steed's neck. As soon as they reached the river bank, they stripped the puppet of its clothes, pendants and diadem, and threw it in the river with the juniper and the offerings. It was the first time that I had witnessed such a rite, which confirmed my opinions on the survival in these districts of aboriginal rites, the memory of which Buddhism in its advance had been unable to obliterate. Evidently here are superimposed, one on the other, the Buddhist and the Bonpo rites. The person whose straw image was thrown in the river, had died yesterday and had been cut into pieces and left on the mountain for animals to devour. That also is a prebuddhistic rite which Buddhism has been unable to eliminate for the simple practical reason that there is no wood in Tibet to waste on the dead.

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[1] Pv'ya yul is quoted in the geographical catalogue of p. 80 and p. 107.

Lamaism introduced here the habits of Tibet; but it met here with other customs which enjoined, in conformity with the practices formerly observed in Tibet by some Bonpo, that the corpse should be cast in the river. And so the white scarf, still used in the funeral rites of some Bonpo tribes on the boundaries of China, is the emblem of the rope which, in the original shaman form, joined, like a bridge, the earth to the sky and on which the deceased walked up. The old beliefs have not been fully abandoned; a compromise has been reached, and instead of casting the corpse into the river his image is thrown in it ".

Another survival is to be found in the cult of the hearth still existing among the Thākali of Tukuchā.

GP, p. 72. " A thorough study of the religious beliefs of Thākali would show that any denomination we might give them would be inexact. We should see that in each Hindu the Lamaist of former times survives and that the lamaist, on his side, preserves in the depths of his soul no small place to Hinduism; we should see that in each soul the one religion does not exclude the other, but they dwell together in harmony, in a safe and joyful symbiosis; and were we to look more closely, we should perceive that in even greater secrecy the primitive aboriginal beliefs still burn, and that they burn more brightly when man feels himself more solitary, sad and frightened and when he notes dire omens in his silent anguish; above all we should see this heritage from remote times holding its own in the domestic worship and in funeral rites. My visit to the palace of the Subha confirmed me in these opinions. The *sanctum sanctorum* of each home is still today the hearth that stands in the middle of the kitchen protected by a low earth wall that surrounds it. No one who is not a member of the family may approach it or pass beyond a line that fixes the space that must remain inviolable. For us an exception was made. On the low surrounding wall are placed jars full of barley for the manes of the deceased, a tall brass lamp burns in a corner.

It is a very serious sin to defile the hearth, to let any thing or object fall there that would contaminate its sacred purity ".

Things are quite different in Charkā and Tarāp.

In these villages Lamaism has suffered a set back in so far as the communities living there claim to be Bonpo. Bon reaches Pale and even a few other places on the way to Jumla. Certainly this Bon is very much contaminated by Buddhism, chiefly by the rDsogs c'en and the bKa' brgyud pa (ạBri guṅ sub–sect), but this diffusion of Lamaism seems to be of recent date and caused by the arrival of some lamas who, a few decades ago, came into this part of the world, preached, made some converts and built some shrines. The limits between the two religions are difficult to define: anyhow it is easy to explain why Buddhism penetrated here through the rDsogs c'en and the bKa' brgyud pa; these two sects are in fact not only very tolerant towards Bon, but they did not abstain from accepting a part at least of its lore; on the other hand, local communities accepted many a doctrine of Lamaism. But it is certainly surprising to find in such a far away corner of Nepal a Bon island.

It would certainly escape the notice of a traveller not acquainted with things Tibetan, because only those who can read Tibetan can realize that the stones piled up on the so called maṇi walls are not inscribed with the usual formulae Om maṇi padme hūm, but with the Bonpo mantras; (Fig. 7) Om ma tri mu ye sa le ạdu; oṃ a dkar sa le 'od; oṃ yar oṃ 'od a.

Evidently, this so-called Bonpo religion which is diffused in this corner of Nepal and which in former times was certainly even more powerful than now, as is proved by some literary references, as for instance by those quoted at p. 14, does not represent the original Bon. It is itself an adaptation of primitive beliefs into a scheme greatly influenced by Buddhism, and by what we may call the secondary form of Bon: which is the result of the contact of the aboriginal cults and ideas, differing widely from place to place, though moving within the same religious forms, with more advanced religions such as Buddhism, or Hinduism, and even other creeds.

There has been in these parts a wave of this secondary Bon, coming in older times straight from Žaṅ žuṅ, and more recently from pilgrims and missionaries from Kham coming on pilgrimages to Kailāsa and K'yuṅ luṅ dṅul dkar[1], both holy places for the Bonpo.

To take an example, the small shrine bSam gliṅ, near Muktinath, of which I spoke in GP, p. 96, is certainly late and founded by a Bonpo lama from Kham. But of course these Bonpo masters found a favourable ground that enabled them to contend with the local Lamaism; which is here represented by the Sa skya pa and the rÑiṅ ma pa, and more recently by the bKa' brgyud pa.

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[1] On this place cf. TUCCI, *Santi e Briganti nel Tibet ignoto*, pp. 130-137, and below p. 74.

There is a religious hinterland which survives within the villages of Northern Nepal, and preserves a great deal of the former aboriginal ideas, neither Bon nor Buddhist. But it would now seem that as a whole it is nothing else than an aspect of the secondary Bon of which I was speaking. Thus, for instance, above the door of the bSam gliṅ shrine near Muktinath hang some paintings representing some Bonpo deities. I was able to buy from the local priest (he is a layman) a few of them (Front plate); on their backs are written some formulae, mantras and the invocation of some gods. But as one can judge from the text which I publish here, we are confronted with deities belonging to the literary and secondary stage of the Bonpos; the general trends of the invocations are very similar to those of the rÑiṅ ma pas and the liturgical and dogmatical background is the same as that concerning the nairātmyajñāna, upāya and prajñā, śūnyatā etc.

VII

a)

steṅ p'yogs bon dbyiṅ[s] yas [g]žal nas |
stoṅ pai ṅaṅ la sdzu sprul pa |
su haṅ duṅ k'yuṅ mt'u'o c'e ||
žal 3 p'yag drug ạjigs pai sku ||
žabs 1 bstabs kyis lha rnams gnon |
sku mdog[1] mt'iṅ k'a gyu 'od ạbar ||
šugs sgrol yum daṅ ạk'ril |
t'abs daṅ šes rab sprul pa . .[2] ||
ạbrug stoṅ k'yuṅ gi gho can ạgyer |
ñoṅ mons[1] lha bdud ạjoms pai lha ||

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[1] Abbreviated.
[2] Cancelled.

yab yum[1] sprul pai dbaṅ bskur bas |
gtum gi las su gsal bai dbaṅ t'ob šog
b)
'og p'yogs bon dbyiṅ[s] [g]žal yas nas |
gsaṅ bai ṅaṅ la sku sprul pa ||
sku lha 5 p'ud mt'u c'e[1] |
žal 3 p'yag drug ạjigs pai sku ||
žabs 1 stabs kyis sa bdag non |
sku mdog[2] ser nag 'od ạbar ||
gso' byed yum daṅ 2 de ạk'ril |
t'abs daṅ šes rab sprul pa las ||
p'ag rgod spyaṅ moi gho can ạgyer |
ạk'rul bdud . . .[3] ạjoms pai lha |
yab yum sprul pai dbaṅ skur bas |
dbyiṅs daṅ ye šes dbyer med lhun gyis grub pai dbaṅ t'ob šog |

VIII

gzuṅ pa gaṅ yaṅ de ñid ṅo bos grub |
ạdsin pai ts'ig la kun gžii bag c'ags bral ||
lcags kyi snar šad gdeṅs pai ạdsin byed can |
hūṃ yig gsal ba ạbras bui brgyan pa ạdi ||
skal ldan skyes bu k'yod la dbaṅ bskur bas |
ạk'or ba rtag par byed pai bdud bcom nas ||
bzuṅ gnas kun bcol nam mk'ai mt'a' daṅ ạbral |
gsaṅ mc'og ye šes dbaṅ rnams t'ob ạgyur cig ||
bsvo oṃ pus pa li dha ba dhi la ha ra va rtse ka ya
bag ci ta hūṃ, hūṃ, hūṃ.

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[1] Abbreviated.
[2] Abbreviated.
[3] Reading not clear.

XVI

bdag med ye šes mc'og c'en bla na med |
k'ams gsum dbaṅ skur žiṅ gi dpal gyur pa ||
gnam lcags k'a traṅ[1] rtse gsum dbal me ạbar |
hūṃ yig gsal ba ạbras bui[2] rgyan pa ạdi ||
skal ldan skyes bu k'yod la dbaṅ bskur bas |
sa rnams gyo daṅ sa rnams ạp'ag pa daṅ ||
sa lam ston t'ob pai bdag ñid mc'og | [3]
gsaṅ mc'og ye šes dbaṅ rnams t'ob ạgyur cig ||
bsvo om pus pa li dha ba dhi la kri šu la kā ya bag ci ta hūṃ,
hūṃ hūṃ ||

XX

dbal k'a gso ba drag po las kyi sdsas |
srid pa las kyi rdsu ạp'rul[4] mc'og c'en po ||
dbal gyag dar mai ru co rtse dbal can |
hūṃ yig gsal ba ạbras bui rgyan pa ạdi ||
skal ldan skyes bu k'yod la dbaṅ bskur bas |
gaṅ yaṅ mi ạjigs rnam par bral bai sku ||
gzuṅ bya ṅo bor ạdas pai mc'og c'en po |
gsaṅ mc'og ye šes dbaṅ rnams t'ob ạgyur cig ||
bsvo oṃ pus pa li dha ba dhi la
ha ra dha va ri tse ka ya
bag ci ta hūṃ, hūṃ, hūṃ.

The priest officiating in the temple of Tarāp pretends to be a descendant of Mi bo gšen rab but there is nothing to prove his claims. On the other hand there exists near Charkā a temple now abandoned, which looks very similar to the old shrines of Western Tibet belonging to the time of Rin c'en bzaṅ po and his activity (Fig. 8); it is a small gandhola with the pradakṣiṇā; the floor of the chapel is much higher (about two yards higher) than the surface of the corridor for the pradakṣiṇā. Now a days the temple is called "the temple of the 84 siddhas"; the images of some of these siddhas are carved on slabs of stone. Along the track there are many mc'od rten which look very old and remind one of those of Western Tibet. But exploration of them being impossible, nobody can say if they are Bonpo or Buddhist.

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[1] Khaṭvāṅga.
[2] Written: ạbrui.
[3] Sic but one syllabe is missing; these verses are of nine syllables.
[4] Abbreviated.

In Charkā the temples are on the left of the river on the other side of the village; they are survivals of more imposing buildings: one must cross the swollen river and ascend to the shrines along a track which runs near the maṇi-walls with Bonpo mantras. The first temple is called Bla ma ñi ma: it contains many images and the rnam t'ar of Mi bo gšen rab in its larger redaction, (gZer mig in 12 volumes).

In another shrine (no name: Bon po lha k'aṅ only) there are many brass images: one of them represents a curious goddess standing: on the palm of her right hand she holds the images of a deity and on the left a vase. Another temple is dedicated to the Gu ru rin po c'e: on the walls there are many frescoes not very old which represent Buddhist (Kun tu bzaṅ po, Yum c'en mo, Ts'e dpag med) as well as pure Bonpo deities.

One can see that this Bon is greatly contaminated by Buddhism: but to judge from the images on the altars, which look very old and do not betray great analogies with Buddhist deities, the process of Buddhism in the spread of the country would not seem to be very old.

The temple of Tarāp (Fig. 10) is called T'ar rgyas p'un ts'ogs gliṅ: it contains images of sTon pa mi bo gšen rab, of Yum c'en mo, rNam par rgyal ba: on a shelf there is the rnam t'ar of Mi bo gšen rab (gZer mig), large edition in twelve volumes. In the Roṅ to the north-east there are two rÑiṅ ma pa temples: Me c'ims (?) on a mountain spur and Gad dkar in the plane. Huge mc'od rten with the Bonpo svastikas are erected along the road.

As to the disposal of the dead I was told by the local priest that as a rule the corpse is thrown into the river: but in some cases it may also be burnt; then a circle of stones is arranged round the place where the ashes have been deposited. Along the track before reaching Charkā I noticed some stones arranged in a circle which I was told were burial places (Fig. 6). They are absolutely similar to those published by G. N. Roerich many years ago, which show the same arrangement of stones [1].

To conclude, this Bon po is a mere contamination of Lamaism with aboriginal cults and ideas, but it cannot be considered to represent the old Bon of Tibet.

Pale is the last village where Tibetan is still understood; the population is largely Bonpo; the headman, himself a Bonpo, is a painter (lha bris pa), acquainted also with Hindu iconography as can be seen from the frescoes, of which he is the author, in the *pronaos* of the temple of Tibrikot. In this temple side by side with Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Kṛṣṇa we find Śākyamuni and Mi bo gŠen rab, the Bonpo Master.

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[1] J. N. Roerich, *The animal style among the Nomad tribes of Northern Tibet*, Seminarium Kondakovianum, Prague 1930, ff. 1, 2. Cf. J. Maringer, *Gräber und Steindenkmäler in der Mongolei*, in *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. XIV, 1949-55, p. 303 ff., fig. 5, 6. Taf. III, 6. Some stones are erected in the fields as are considered to shelter the lha protecting the field itself (Fig. 9).

After leaving Pale one finds on the way some mc'od rten (Fig. 11); they look like gates under which the road passes.

The ceiling is covered with frescoes which a person not well acquainted with things Tibetan might take for Buddhist: but they represent Bonpo deities displayed round the five Bon sku, the center being rTog rgyal ye šes mk'yen (Figg. 12, 13).

Chapter II.

JUMLA

§ 5 – *From Pale to Jumla.* Pale is the meeting place of Buddhism, Lamaism, and Bon. After that village Hinduism rules unopposed, except for a gompa in Tārākot and a few others scattered on either side of the valley [1]. A Buddhist center is in Cha, at the bottom of the Moria-lekh; the people here are Kheti, but follow Lamaism.

Bon reaches as far as Muni on the other side of the Moria-lekh, a village inhabitated by Khampas breeding ponies and trading on them.

Between Pale and Tibrikot nothing of great importance is found: the first villages are chiefly inhabited by Magars, then the Bāman and Kheti infiltration begins.

In Tibrikot the temple dedicated to Tripureśvarī (Fig. 15) does not seem to be very old; the goddess is represented by a stone inside the shrine; the stone is said to have descended there from heaven. A pujārī is in charge of the shrine. The country is inhabited by Bāman, Kheti, Rājput and Magar. Before reaching the village of Sarasvatītīrtha a kind of stūpa is seen: near by there is a yūpa for the sacrifice of the buffalo which takes place at the Dussera festival: in the interior the image of an ox head roughly carved on a stone can be noticed. Then after the village (inhabited by Bāman and governed by a Panchayat) a stone mask of the devī is placed on a heap of stones in the middle of the paddy fields.

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[1] Before reaching Pale one sees to the left of the Tarāpkholā the bSam ạdul dgon pa (on the map: Chhandul Gompa): other small shrines are in the valley of the Bārbung kholā: bDe c'en dpal ri and ạBri guṅ dgon pa. They have been founded some years ago by a bla ma of ạBri guṅ. In Tārākot there is also a small lha k'aṅ called bSam bde gliṅ.

During all this part of the journey one comes across some wooden images erected near the houses The most conspicuous is in Rimi (inhabited chiefly by Kheti) (Fig. 17). Though I did not stop in the village and therefore could not get that familiarity with the people which is likely to inspire confidence in them, and to help the traveller to collect reliable information, I was told that those images are the effigies of the builders of the village itself. This custom is found in many places and I had many of these sculptures, often also in stone, photographed (Fig. 36).

Along the route, heaps of stone are also noticeable which seem to be inspired in their shape by the stūpa; they have nothing in common with Buddhism, but certainly have a sacred character. Some of them are found in a corner of the paddy fields, regularly surmonted by a stone in the shape of a liṅga: inside there is a hole or a kind of window, meant for burning offerings to the bhūt before harvesting (Fig. 14).

Of special interest is the temple of Litākot on the route Jumla–Chilkhā: it is located below the village and is dedicated to a goddess called Māi. It is nothing but a hut facing east and opened in front (Fig. 33). Some stones placed inside represent the deity; wooden images roughly carved leaning against the walls or standing outside the temple are said to represent the builders of the temple and its donors (Fig. 34); similar images are found along the route wherever there is a sacred tree and a stone underneath supposed to represent respectively the shrine and the deity. The pandit who accompanied me insisted on calling all those people worshippers of bhūt; according to him they cannot be called Hindu.

As regards the temple of Litākot, it strikes one as being very primitive; still it is very near to Jumla and in an area where ruins of stone temples are not rare; more than a survival it looks like the expression of a different culture which has not yet completed its hinduization.

Such temples as that of Litākot, as well as the wooden pillars which I mentioned before, show great analogy to similar buildings or images among the Nāgas [1]. In a few cases some rough stone sculptures appear (Fig. 16) as if the primitive intuition worshipping the aniconic stone participating in a sacred presence were beginning to assume a human form. This world is not definite: it is complex, many cultural elements of different origin coexist and some of them are beginning to evolve and change.

There is no doubt that future exploration of Nepal and of the sub-Himalayan valleys will find other islands of these cultures and new links with the probable centers of their diffusion. Instead of these primitive wooden images, in the places where the hinduization was deeper and older, one finds stone pillars. The first were found immediately after Jumla (Fig. 32) and the last was met in the Tarai, just below Surkhet (Fig. 59). They are carved, and very often they bear also inscriptions; but the quality of the stone is such that it does not resist the impact of time, the consequence being that generally no inscription is now legible. The images carved on the surface represent a stūpa, with three flowers symbolising the three jewels, a mountain, (Fig. 47) a lotus, the sun and the moon, a warrior holding the bridle of a horse, a horse. They are quadrangular and very often terminate in a pear-shaped top (Figg. 46, 48, 56, 57, 58). On the top of a wooden pillar (Fig. 35) a kind of bird si perched which remands me of an animal (a bird? a lion?) on a stūpa of Michagaon (Fig. 28).

Only in a few cases some letters of the inscriptions can be read: on a pillar to the right of the track before reaching Tatopani [2] one reads: Dhaulapāni which is the name of the village above (Fig. 37). The following are the places where these pillars are specially to be found; between Tatopani and Nāgma, before and after Chilkhā; at Kālikot, at Gumlikali and Dangargaon, before Dullu, at Dullu, on the road Dullu-Surkhet, in the Tarai (about six miles from Surkhet).

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[1] See e.g. J. H. Hutton, *The Aṅgami–Naga*, figg. at p. 46, 51, 227.

[2] Marked on the map as Hot Spring, immediately after Jumla.

Before reaching Jumla, in a large maidan called Guḍichour one meets the first stone monument (Fig. 18), which appears as a surprise in a country where there seems to exist no trace of older and higher culture; no ancient stone building is found before reaching this place. It is a small temple near which huge stone pillars are erected (Fig. 19). It is impossible to state whether it was Buddhist or Hindu. Some images are carved on the basement of the door and they probably represent the donors. On other slabs flowers are engraved (Fig. 20).

Jumla is now a small town (Fig. 27), the seat of a governor; it is surrounded by many villages scattered in a very fertile valley. The cultivation of rice as well as the breeding of horses is the greatest resource of the country, the rice of Jumla is very much appreciated and it was formerly, so I was told, sent also to Kathmandu. The ponies are sold in India. The place is rich and potentially it can feed a population much larger than the present one. There is therefore some reason for the former importance of Jumla, fully attested by historical documents.

In the village itself no monument is left: the Gorakṣa temple (Fig. 26) is not old.

The first ruins are found to the north of Jumla on the way to Mūgū: in a place called Bhadaribhaḍā there are a stūpa and a shrine (Figg. 22-24); the proximity of the stūpa to the shrine suggests that the latter also was dedicated to some Buddhist deity. On the ceiling—in the shape of the so called lantern-roof—(Fig. 25) the figure of lotus is engraved: on one of the panels traces of *graffiti* are visible.

I was told in Jumla that in the village of Michagaon there were many temples: I visited the place and found that there was no trace of temples but in the proximity of the village I saw many stone stūpas of a peculiar shape (Figg. 29-30). To my enquiries if there were inscriptions, the headman replied that he was not aware of their existence: other villagers, on the contrary, insisted on having noticed some characters engraved on the basement of the biggest stūpa. Yielding rather unwillingly to my requests at last they removed some shrubs and underneath, on the front-side of the basement, traces of an inscription appeared: Oṃ svasti śrīśāke 1423 māse 11 tithau. ne.. jita rāula javan mātya puṇya | ku...

On the basement of another stūpa of smaller proportions I had only the time to read Oṃ svasti śrīśāke 1404, because an old witch started a great row and excited the people against us. To avoid unpleasant consequences it was necessary to desist from any further excavations.

Javan is a family name and probably the name of some members of the nobility of Jumla [1].

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[1] See below p. 123, ff. Rāul is frequent, as a title, in Garhwal, see HEARGREAVES, *Annual Rep. of the Superintendent Hindu & Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle*, 1914: Jagan Raul Jogi, Jata Raul Jogi in the temple of Jageśvar.

Chapter III.

THE KHASA RULERS OF WESTERN TIBET AND WESTERN NEPAL

§ 6. – *Inscriptions and temples of Pṛthvīmalla and the Malla dynasty.* Some of the most important discoveries made in the course of the expedition concern a king unknown so far and the monuments which were built by his immediate predecessors or by himself. This king is Pṛthvīmalla: his inscriptions were found in a village near Jumla (Shitushka)[1], on the road to Jhelli, at Ḍakachour, and two, the most important, in Dullu. Those of J̇helli and Ḍakachour give us only the names of the king; the first is carved on a big boulder along the track: Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ. Maṃgalaṃ bhavatu śrīpṛthvīmalladevaḥ | ⁘ likhitam idaṃ puṇyaṃ jagati sidyasyā[2] (Fig. 60).

All over the country there are stone temples such as those of Chilkhā (Figg. 38, 39,) and Jhelli (Figg. 40-42): two are seen in Kālikot (Figg. 44, 45), another village of Rājput. The temples can be divided into two groups: one (Fig. 40) is similar to the shrines very common all over the Himalayan region: Bajnāth (Kīragrāma) in Kangra[3], Dwarahat, *ASAR*, 1923-1924, Plate IV, *c.*; Joshināth, A. Heim und A. Gansser, *Thron der Götter*, Zürich, Morgarten, 1938 fig. 198.

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[1] See below § 15: in this village on the spur of a hill there is a stūpa (Fig. 31): on one side oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ is engraved in big rañjanā characters.

[2] The reading is clear: mistake for siddhaṃ syāt?

[3] Jamadagni Temple, Fig. 165 in J. FERGUSSON, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 298.

The other type is that of Chilkhā: large square basament piramidal roof surmonted by a wheel. On the side pillar of the door of the shrine in Kālikot an image in the shape of Atlas is carved. The carvings on some stone stele near by represent lotus flowers (Fig. 43). Proceeding on the way to Dullu one looks down to the village of Mānma where another ancient stone temple is visible; another, I am told, is preserved in Auri on the road to the Karnāli; a Buddhist stūpa is also at the bottom of the Auri pass near the small village of Ḍakachour: near to it there is a stone stele. It was my Pandit who discovered it while halting in the place: he told me that there is a short inscription of which he could read only: oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ: anena puṇyena sarve sattvā śrī........ bhavantu śrīpṛthvīmallaḥ jagati...

I will now pass to the inscriptions at Dullu which suggest many problems.

Dullu (at present under a petty rāja who was deposed when the revolution was at its start, but was then reinstated) is a place of great archaeological interest. There are two stone temples (Fig. 49) similar to those which I discovered near Jumla, Jhelli and elsewhere; they are no longer officiated and it is difficult to say to what deity they were consecrated. In front of the royal palace there is a stone lion (Fig. 51) of rather crude workmanship; not very far under an image of Hanumān, there is a fragment of a small but very fine statue of some god or Bodhisattva (Fig. 50) of which the head is missing.

In Dullu there are three inscriptions: one is engraved on a pillar emerging from the paddy fields before one reaches the village, to the left of the Auri-Dullu road. The letters are completely effaced and only the mantra: Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ can now be read. The mantra is written in Tibetan characters (Fig. 52).

A second inscription is engraved on a reservoir about one mile from Dullu on the way to Surkhet. This reservoir of water (vāpī) is an imposing building made of large and massive stone blocks; on the lintel on the top of the door there is a well preserved inscription (Fig. 55). The reservoir of water is covered; above the roof, at the four corners, the foundation can still be seen of four stūpas; a bigger stūpa is in the middle; therefore five stūpas in all were then disposed according to the mandalic arrangement (Fig. 54). The inscription is the following.

oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ (in rañjanā characters)

1. oṃ svasti śrīśāke 1276 pauṣe vadi 2 śukravāśare [1] mahārājādhirājaparameśvaraparamabhaṭṭārakaparama[2]dhārmi[ka]
2. paramakalpadrumāvatāraśrīmatpṛthvīmalladevavijayarājye | mahāmatyaśrīyaśovarmadevānāṃ samaye ||
3. naṣṭā śrīr bhi(*sic*)[3]marājasya dhanarājasya dhīmataḥ | cchatyālavaṃśatilakaḥ sūnur graṃthadvavarmaṇaḥ || nāvalladevyā saṃjāto ||
4. devavarmā mahāmatiḥ | tenāpūrvatarā vāpī nirmitā amaravallabhā || caityapaṃcakasaṃyuktā vasati[r] buddhasaṃtateḥ | vi
5. śrāmabhūmi śrāntānāṃ jīvitaṃ sarvadehināṃ [4] mahāmatya śrīmaddevavarmadevaiḥ sarvasattvopakārārthaṃ svakīyokta
6. budhyā (*sic*) nūtanarītyā | devānām api vallabhā | vāpī viracitā || likhita dharmadāsena | iti subham astu

Meanwhile in the Saṃskṛtasaṃdeśa published in Kathmandu (nn. X-XII, p. 54) the same inscription has been edited by Bāburām Ācarya and Nayarāj Panta, on a rubbing sent to Kathmandu by an official on tour in that part of Nepal.

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[1] Corr.: vāsare.

[2] ma written above.

[3] Corr.: bhī.

[4] Metre: naṣṭā–dehinām, śloka; in l. 4, read: nirmitāmara.

This edition differs in some points from mine and has not been commented upon.

The inscription was written during the victorious reign of Pṛthvīmalla in the śāka year 1276 = A.D. 1354/5 while the prime minister was Yaśovarman.

The fortune (Śrī) of Bhīmarāja, evidently a local chief, came to an end, viz. probably his family had no issue or he was eliminated by Pṛthvīmalla; then Devavarman of a new family, the Chatyāla, took his place; he was the son of Graṃthadva and Nāvalladevī; he had a reservoir of water made along with the five caitya alluded to before as a seat of the progenies of the Buddha, a refuge for those who are tired and a source of life to all living beings. This work was undertaken by Devavarman for the spiritual benefit of all living beings. The man who wrote it was Dharmadāsa. The inscription (apart from the formula oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ written on top) is of evident Buddhist inspiration.

Another inscription, was found at the extreme end of the village on the road Dullu-Surkhet (Figg. 53, 61 A, B). It is engraved on both sides of a huge pillar: it is badly preserved. I took rubbings and photos of it and I am now in a condition to reproduce the readable portions of the same. On both sides there is engraved the image of a stūpa and the mantra: Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ in rañjanā characters.

I - FRONT [1]

1 svasti || seve padmollasadvaktraṃ
2 *dānaśauṇḍaṃ* vināyakaṃ || yo dośa [2]

---

[1] Italics are used for doubt ful readings.

[2] Read: 'dosaś.

3 ś caturo dhatte prajā naḥ śivabhāvitaḥ |
4 1 || ādityavaṃśe bhavad ādipālo nṛpas su
5 to syāmarapālabhūpaḥ | sutas tadīyo jaya
6 pālabhūpas tatsūnur āsīd vijayādipālaḥ ||
7 2 || śrīvīrapāla nṛpatis tato bhūt tasmā
8 d abhūt vikrama[1]pālabhūpaḥ | śrīpālabhūpas ta
9 nayas tadīyaḥ śrīdhīrapālaṃ tanayaṃ sa le
10 bhe || 3 || somapālo nṛpas tasmāt sūryapāla
11 s tato bhavat | tajjaḥ samudrapālo bhūt sukha
12 pālas tadātmajaḥ || 4 || tataḥ khyāto dhī
13 śo jani vigaha[2]pālakṣitipatis tato
14 jātaḥ śrīmān varagajamahīpālanṛpa
15 tiḥ | sa jitvā saṃkhye rīn vihitavasati
16 r gohaviṣaye su = = = dhīkhyātakṛtavi
17 pulān cīnanṛpatīn || 5 || sugīta –
18 – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
19 – – – – – – – – – – – – – ṣṭakrame
20 – – – – – || 6 || viṣaye – – kārākhye
21 – – – – – – – – stambhakatvāt sapatnā
22 – – – – . avāpa saḥ || 7 || . inarendra
23 kule jāto jīvapālāhvayo nṛpa [ḥ] | śrī
24 – – – – – – – – – – – gelāhvayam . i
25 – || 8 || – – – – cala – – – – – –
26 – bhūpaḥ | śrījayākhyo nṛpas tasmād aja
27 niṣṭa mahāyaśāḥ || 9 || puṇyamallāhva
28 yaḥ śrīmān bhūpas tasmād ajāyata | sādhvī
29 śakunamālākhyā saddharmyā tanmahiṣy a
30 bhūt || 10 || śrīmallanāmadheyo sti prathama
31 s tanayas tayoḥ | jayanta iva lakṣmīvā
32 n śacīnamucividviṣoḥ || 11 || atha
33 *khyāti* – – – – yo jāv īśvaratām agāt | tena
34 śrīnāgarājena seṃjāpuryāṃ sthiti[ḥ] kṛtā || 12 ||

---

[1] The syllable ma written below the line.
[2] Metri causa for vigraha°?

II – Back

1 oṃ svasti | tasmāc cāpas tasmāc cāpilla
2 krāśicalla iti tasmāt | tasmāt krādhi
3 calla krācallas tata iti kramād bhūpāḥ | 13 |
4 krācallajo bhūbhṛd aśokacallo digbhitti
5 ṣu kṣāntilatāṃ tatāna | jitārimalla
6 s tanayo tha tasya tasyātmajo thākṣaya
7 mallanāmā | 14 || aśokasuta ānaṃda
8 mallas tadanu tadbhavaḥ | ripumallo tha saṃgrāma
9 mallas tasya tanūbhavaḥ || 15 || āditya
10 mallo tha jitārisūnuḥ kalyāṇa
11 mallasya nṛpasya mātā | kālyāṇa
12 malliḥ prathate sma bhūmau pratāpamallā
13 hvayabhṛt kṣitīśaḥ || 16 || sa svayaṃ nā
14 garājasya naivāśeṣayad anvayaṃ | atha
15 gelānvayaḥ puṇyamallas tatrābhyaṣi
16 cyata | 17 || tataḥ śakunamālāyā
17 ś caṃdramālābhidhāṃ[1] sutā | sutaś ca pṛ
18 thvīmallākhyo jātau tatra kramādi
19 mau || 18 || samrājyasakulārṇava
20 samāyātamahībhṛtāṃ | vīraśrīpṛthi
21 vīmallaḥ khyātakīrtir virājate || 19 ||
22 dhanāni dadatārthibhyo dharmakarmāṇi
23 kurvatā | pṛthvī mallena bhūbhartrātithya
24 kṛtayugīkṛtā || 20 || tasyaikā dha
25 rmamālākhyā dīpamālāhvayāparā
26 ubhe devyau virājete viṣṇor bhumiśri[2]
27 yāv iva || 21 || bhikṣūṇāṃ dvijadha

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[1] Sic for abhidhā.

[2] bhumi *metri causa* for bhūmi: bhūdevī is the second wife of Viṣṇu: J. Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism.* Utrecht 1954, p. 230 and literature there.

28 rmabhāṇakāṇāṃ sūtradhārakā
29 ṇāṃ ca | nijarājye sarvakarās te
30 nācaṃdrārkatārakaṃ tyaktāḥ || 22 ||
31 bālasarasvatisumatipraśastim aka
32 rod imāṃ kalānipuṇaḥ | abhivija
33 yasiṃhaḥ sudhīś caturaḥ śivarājasū
34 tradhāraś ca || 23 || graharṣisūryagaṇābde
35 śāke jyeṣṭhaḥ – – cakre | sudyahe bhānu
36 vāre sau kīrti – – – rāśinaḥ [1] || 24 [2] ||

Then on the left side, at the bottom: śrīśāke 1279.

§ 7. – *Pālas and Mallas.* The great importance of this inscription is evident. It gives us the genealogy of two families, who at a certain moment coalesce. The Mallas here mentioned have nothing in common with the Mallas against whom Mānadeva fought; theirs is a title which they took, as we shall see, after a certain time of their rule. I give here the series of the kings of the two families as far as the names are still legible.

A) (ādityavaṃśa)

Ādipāla
Amarapāla
Jāyapāla
Vijayādipāla
Śrīvīrapāla
Vikramapāla
Śrīpāla
Śrīdhīrapāla
Somapāla
Sūryapāla
Samudrapāla
Sukhapāla
Vigrahapāla

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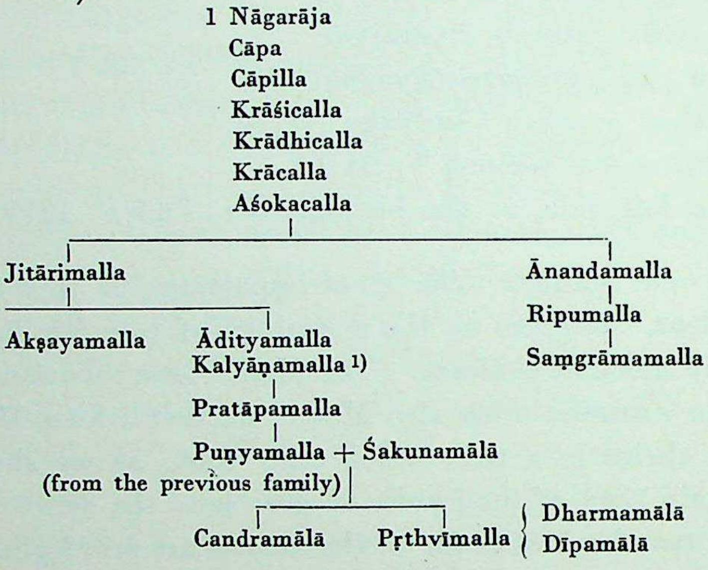
[1] The reading of this stanza except the date is uncertain. After jyeşţhaḥ one could read şţame; in this case ā would be missing. But the date can be either sunday 2 or 9 jyeşţha, śukla, 21 or 22 May 1357.

[2] Metres: 1 śloka, 2 upajāti, 3 indravajrā, 4 śloka, 5-8 uncertain metres 9-13 śloka, 14 upajāti, 15 śloka, 16 upajāti, 17-21 śloka, 22-23 gīti.

Mahīpāla
. . . . dhī
Śrījayākhya
Puṇyamalla + who marries Śakunamālā
Śrīmalla

B)


1 Nāgarāja
Cāpa
Cāpilla
Krāśicalla
Krādhicalla
Krācalla
Aśokacalla
Jitārimalla
Ānandamalla
Akṣayamalla
Ādityamalla
Ripumalla
Kalyāṇamalla 1)
Saṃgrāmamalla
Pratāpamalla
Puṇyamalla + Śakunamālā
(from the previous family)
Candramālā
Pṛthvīmalla
Dharmamālā
Dīpamālā

It appears that Pratāpamalla had no scions and that after him Puṇyamalla of the other family of the Sela[2] was enthroned, thus continuing the progeny of Nāgadeva. This Puṇyamalla married Śakunamālā and was the father of Pṛthvīmalla; the sister of the latter was Candramālā; Pṛthvīmalla married Dharmamālā and Dīpamālā who shone as two śrī of Viṣṇu descended on earth.

Pṛthvīmalla is praised for having exempted for ever from taxation, the bhikṣu, the brahmins (dvija), the preachers (dharmabhāṇaka) and the artisans sūtradhāraka. The inscription distinguishes the poet Abhivijayasiṃha and the sūtradharaka Śivarāja; the former is the author of the praśasti and the latter engraved

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[1] From the inscription it is uncertain whether this is the son of Ādityamalla or of Saṃgrāmamalla. I follow DT, GR, DM.

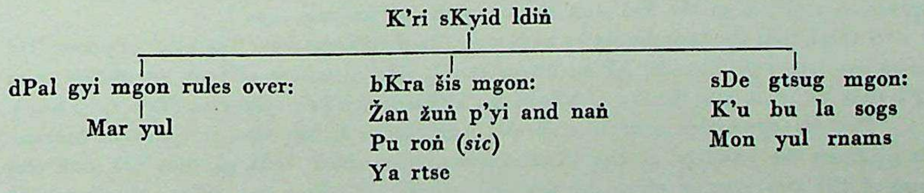
[2] Or Gela.

it on the jayastambha. The sūtradhāra, sūtradhāraka is the artisan, as is well known in epigraphic records.

§ 8. – *The inscription agrees with the Tibetan Chronicles.* This incription has a great bearing on the history of Western Tibet and it confirms that the genealogies of the kings of Guge, as preserved in the Tibetan chronicles, apart from orthographical errors, are fairly exact: their accuracy goes as far as to mention the change which took place after Pratāpamalla.

We know in fact from the rGyal rabs gsal bai me loṅ, the Deb t'er sṅon po, dPao gtsug lag ạp'reṅ ba, Sum pa mk'an po and other historical books or authors that a dynasty, called in Tibet rMal or sMal, ruled over Guge in Western Tibet. They succeeded, at a certain time, to the lDe family, which claimed to descend from the kings of Lhasa, conquered Guge and settled in the later country when, after the murder of gLaṅ dar ma (842 A. D.), Tibet fell into great disorder. I have given in *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. II, *Rin c'en bzaṅ po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet intorno al mille*, p. 17 ff.[1] the list of these kings of Guge, but it will now be useful to republish it here according to the various Tibetan historical sources.

Grags pa rgyal mts'an (1147-1256) Vol. Ta, p. 199



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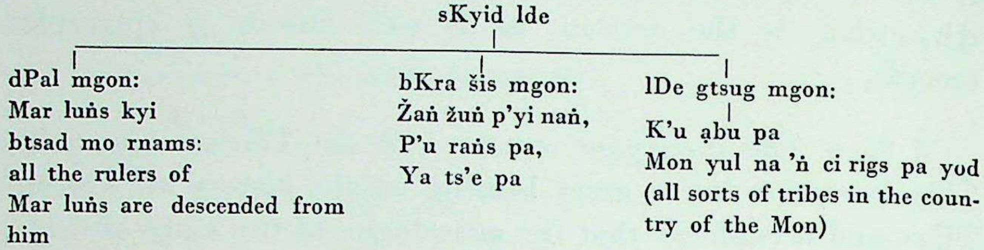
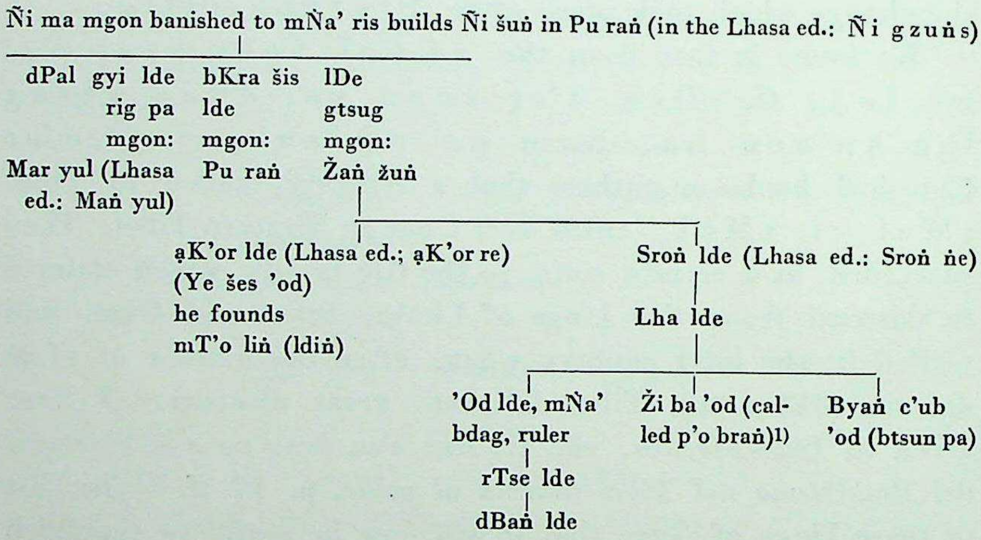
[1] Roma, Accademia d'Italia, 1933.

ạP'ags pa, Vol. Ba, p. 361, *b*


sKyid lde
dPal mgon:
Mar luṅs kyi
btsad mo rnams:
all the rulers of
Mar luṅs are descended from
him
bKra šis mgon:
Žaṅ žuṅ p'yi naṅ,
P'u raṅs pa,
Ya ts'e pa
lDe gtsug mgon:
K'u ạbu pa
Mon yul na 'ṅ ci rigs pa yod
(all sorts of tribes in the country of the Mon)

Buston, Ya, p. 131, *b*
(OBERMILLER, p. 200 and 215)


Ñi ma mgon banished to mṄa' ris builds Ñi šuṅ in Pu raṅ (in the Lhasa ed.: Ñi gzuṅs)
dPal gyi lde rig pa mgon:
Mar yul (Lhasa ed.: Maṅ yul)
bKra šis lde mgon:
Pu raṅ
lDe gtsug mgon:
Žaṅ žuṅ
ạK'or lde (Lhasa ed.; ạK'or re)
(Ye šes 'od)
he founds
mT'o liṅ (ldiṅ)
Sroṅ lde (Lhasa ed.: Sroṅ ṅe)
Lha lde
'Od lde, mṄa' bdag, ruler
rTse lde
dBaṅ lde
Ži ba 'od (called p'o braṅ)1)
Byaṅ c'ub 'od (btsun pa)

This fact helps us to understand a document found in Tun-huang and edited some years ago by Marcelle Lalou (*IHQ*, XVI, 1940, p. 292). This document belongs to the time of K'ri gtsug lde brtsan viz. Ral pa can and it tells of some meritorious actions such as writings of holy texts and building of a mc'od rten. Then the document adds Jo mo btsan mo ạp'an gyi sras gyi p'o braṅ 'od sruṅ gi sku yon du, which Mlle Lalou, *ibid.*, p. 297 translates: "the queen as a gift from the 'Od sruṅ Palace of the ạP'an yum sras".

I think that the text should be understood in a different way: "as a gift of prince 'Od sruṅ the son of the mother ạP'an btsan mo". As a matter of fact we gather from PT that 'Od sruṅ was the son of bTsan mo ạP'an of the Ts'e spoṅ clan (Ts'e spoṅ bza').

This interpretation confers a special importance to the text in question because it confirms the validity of the Tibetan genealogies which tells us that 'Od sruṅ was one of the two sons of gLaṅ dar ma and exactly of bTsan mo ạP'an: the fact that he is called p'o braṅ shows that he was the younger of the two: on the other hand, the reference to his mother implicitely indicates that the wives of gLaṅ dar ma were more than one.

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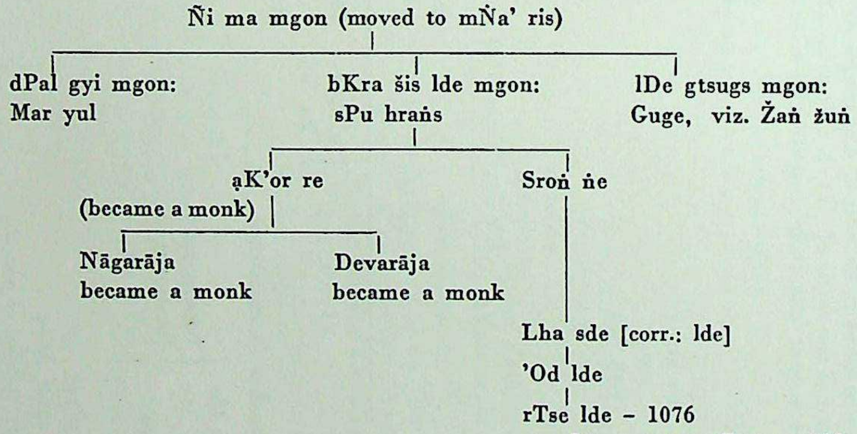
1) ạP'o braṅ is the title of the second son in a ruling family.

Deb t'er (Blue Annals, p. 37)


Ñi ma mgon (moved to mṄa' ris)
dPal gyi mgon:
Mar yul
bKra šis lde mgon:
sPu hraṅs
lDe gtsugs mgon:
Guge, viz. Žaṅ žuṅ
ạK'or re
(became a monk)
Sroṅ ṅe
Nāgarāja
became a monk
Devarāja
became a monk
Lha sde [corr.: lde]
'Od lde
rTse lde – 1076

his son was: (but p. 325: his son: dBaṅ p'yug lde,
p. 913 P'yar c'en, other son)

ạBar sde

Then:
bKra šis lde
Bha lde
Nāgadeva
bTsan p'yug lde
bKra šis lde
Grags btsan lde
Grags pa lde
A šog lde

his sons:

ạJi dar rmal
A jid rmal
Ka laṅ rmal
Bar btab rmal

A nan rmal
Reu rmal; *then*:
Sangha rmal
with him the royal lineage of Ya rtse came to an end.

dPao gtsug ạp'reṅ ba

Ja, p. 141, *b*.

Ñi mgon
(mÑa' ris)
Two ministers:
Žaṅ Pa ts'ab Rin c'en sde and Cog ro Legs sgra(?) lha legs accompanied him up to Bye ma gyuṅ druṅ [1]): he was asked to be king of the people of mÑa' ris bskor gsum. He founded the castle of Ñi bzuṅs in sPu raṅs and, as agreed, the two ministers sent him their daughters as wives.

from Cog ro bza':
the three sTod mgon are descended:

dPal gyi lde rig pa mgon: Mar yul

bKra šis lde mgon: sPu raṅs

lDe gtsug mgon: Žaṅ žuṅ

Sroṅ ṅe
Nāgarādsa and Devarādsa
(then called Lha Bla ma ye šes 'od)
founded mT'o liṅ
dpal gyi lha k'aṅ

ạK'or re
founded
K'a c'ar (Kojarnāth)
Lha lde

'Od lde
rTse lde
ạBar lde; *then in succession*:
bKra šis lde
Lha lde
Nāgadeva
(then his son:)
} became rulers (btsan po) of mÑa' ris
bTsan p'yug lde
became mṅa' bdag
of Ya tse (*Follows on page 55*)

P'o braṅ
Ži ba 'od

btsun pa Byaṅ
c'ub 'od
(invites Atīša)

---

[1]) This is the river Chemayungdrun, Chema yundung, (discussion in SVEN HEDIN, *Southern Tibet*, s. v. Chema–yund(o)ung(gi)–chu, General Index. Vol. IX. Bye ma sa t'aṅ is near Kojarnāth; see below p. 61.

bKra šis lde

Grags btsan lde

Grags pa lde

A šo ga lde

(he bought from the Sog po forty-two groṅ,
villages, which had been offered by A śo ka
to rDo rje gdan, Bodhgayā)

ạJi t'ar smal

A jid smal (4)

(lha btsun in Sa skya; afterwards
he takes over again the kingdom.

(the family of Ya tse is extinguished.
Therefore from Pu raṅs bSod nams lde
is invited)

Puṇya sMal (bSod nams lde) (5)

Priti smal (6) who with his minister dPal
ldan grags acted as dānapati of
Sa skya[2].

A nan smal (1)[1]

(he repaired rDo rje gdan)
and acted as dānapati of ạBri k'uṅ)

Reu smal (2)

(he became master of many kingdoms
in India: he sends gifts to Lhasa

Sangha smal (3)

Ṅor Chronicles

p. 130, *b*

Ñi ma mgon

dPal gyi mgon:
Maṅ yul

bKra šis mgon:
he took possession of the castle
(sku mk'ar) of the father: Ñi zuṅ:
Pu hraṅs, Glo bo, Dol po, Gu ge
Ya ts'e etc.

lDe (xyl. sde) gtsug mgon:
Žaṅ žuṅ

'Od kyi rgyal mts'an

Sroṅ ṅe
he founds T'o liṅ and hands over the
kingdom to the son of his brother
(he is ordained as Ye šes 'od)

ạK'or re

Lha lde

['Od lde, missing]

rTse lde

dBaṅ sde

---

[1] The numbers within brackets refer to the order of succession.

[2] Sources: Bu ston and Yar luṅs Jo bo rje. The kings between A jid smal and bSod nams lde are missing. Perhaps the copyists left out a few lines.

rGyal rabs, p. 101 *a*.

sKyid sde ñi ma mgon
king in mÑa' ris but: sPu raṅ la'ṅ dbaṅ bsgyur (" ruled also over sPu raṅ ")

dPal gyi mgon: Mar yul (from him up to Jo bo ras c'en)
bKra šis mgon, Pu raṅ
sDe (corr.: lDe) btsun mgon; Žaṅ žuṅ

ạK'or re (he founded K'a c'ar)
Sroṅ ṅe (Bla ma Ye šes 'od) he founded mT'oṅ mt'iṅ
Nāgarāja, Devarāja

Lha lde

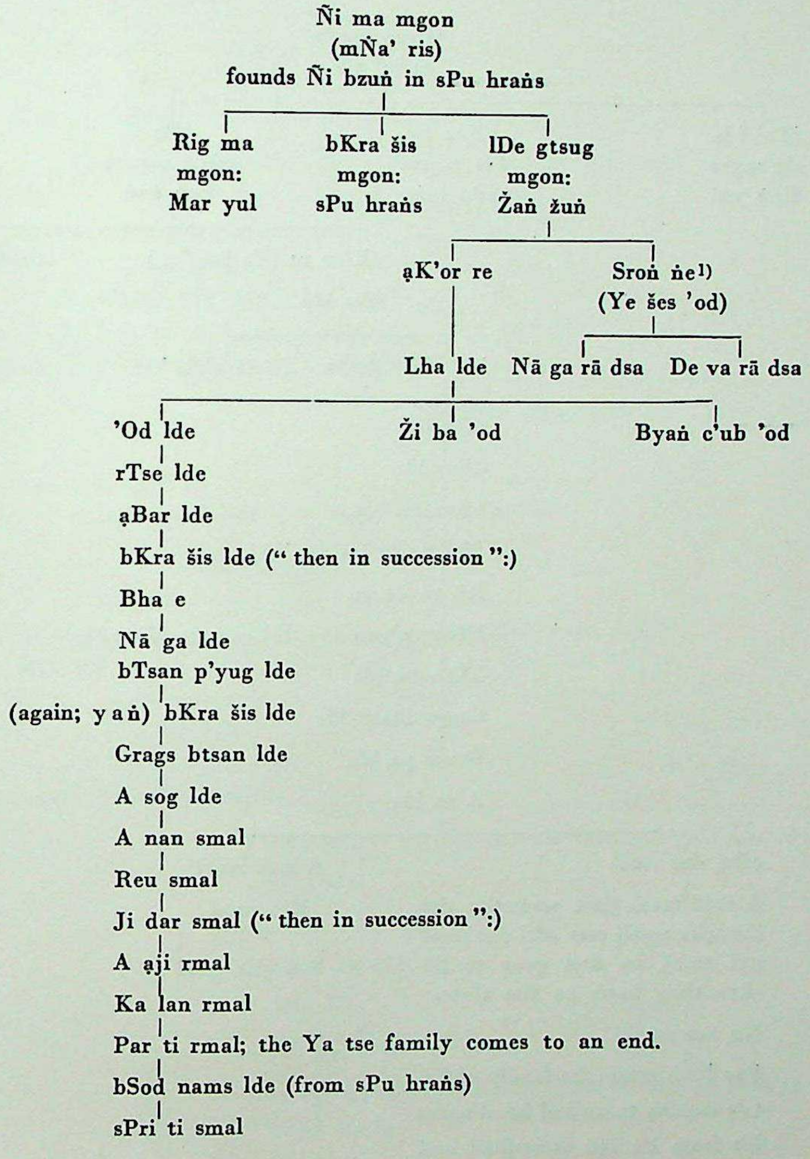
Ži ba 'od
Lha bla ma Byaṅ c'ub 'od
'Od lde

bTsan lde
(dei sras: his son)
Bha le

bKra šis lde
Bha re
Na ga lde
(de nas rim pa bžin du ạdi rnams kyis gu ge spu raṅs mar yul la sogs dbaṅ byas pa yin no, then there were in succession the following kings (names) who became rulers of Guge, sPu raṅs, Mar yul etc.)
(dei sras: his son)
bTsan p'yug lde
ya rtser byon te rgyal po mdsad (" he went to Ya rtse and became king ")
bKra šis lde
Grags btsan lde
Grags pa lde
A rog lde
A sog lde
Dsi dar smal and A nan ta smal
Ri lu smal
he presented the gser t'og to the dBu t'og of the jo bo of Lhasa

San gha smal
ạDsi t'ar smal
ạDsi smal
Ka len smal
Par rti smal
the royal lineage (rgyal rgyud) of Ya rtse comes to an end with Par rti smal. The mṅa' bdag bSod nams sde is invited from Pu raṅs
bSod nams sde (Pu ni smal)
Pri ti smal
with his minister dPal ldan grags he presents the gser t'og of sPyan ras gzigs with eleven heads of Lhasa.

Deb t'er dmar po, p. 38


Ñi ma mgon
(mŃa' ris)
founds Ñi bzuṅ in sPu hraṅs
Rig ma mgon: Mar yul
bKra šis mgon: sPu hraṅs
lDe gtsug mgon: Žaṅ žuṅ
ạK'or re
Sroṅ ṅe1)
(Ye šes 'od)
Lha lde
Nā ga rā dsa
De va rā dsa
'Od lde
Ži ba 'od
Byaṅ c'ub 'od
rTse lde
ạBar lde
bKra šis lde (" then in succession":)
Bha e
Nā ga lde
bTsan p'yug lde
(again; yaṅ) bKra šis lde
Grags btsan lde
A sog lde
A nan smal
Reu smal
Ji dar smal (" then in succession":)
A ạji rmal
Ka lan rmal
Par ti rmal; the Ya tse family comes to an end.
bSod nams lde (from sPu hraṅs)
sPri ti smal

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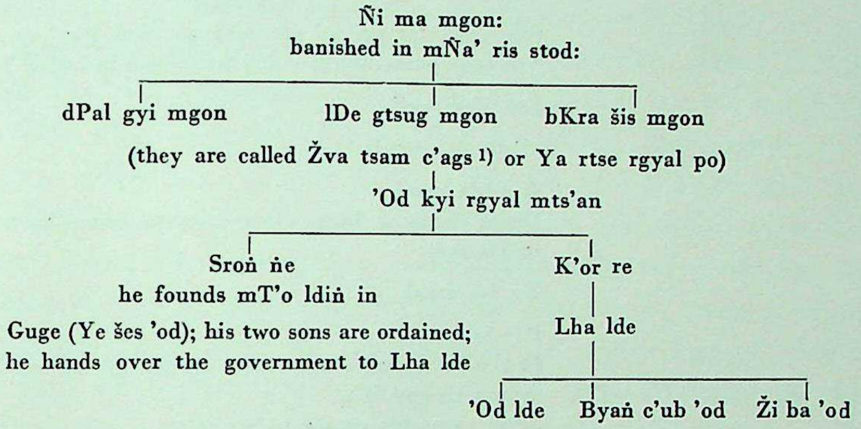
[1] The contrary statement concerning these two princes contained in Buston is attributed to the Yig tsaṅ of K'ri t'aṅ Dsña na *i.e.*, Jñāna, a man of Western Tibet (cf. Blue Annals, I, 68; II, 1085); he was the author of a biography of Rin c'en bzaṅ po.

Fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles, 46 *b*.

Ñi ma mgon: mÑa' ris

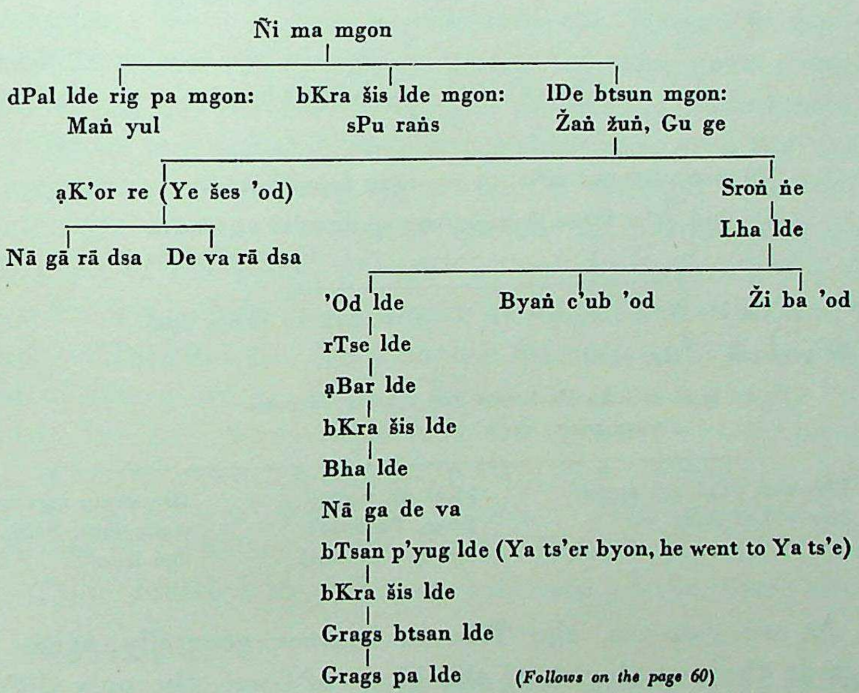
- dPal lde rig mgon: Maṅ yul
- bKra šis lde mgon: sPu raṅs
- lDe gtsug mgon: Žaṅ žuṅ
  - ạK'or re (Ye šes 'od)
    - Lha lde
      - 'Od lde
        - rTse lde
        - ạBar lde
        - bKra šis lde
        - Bha ne (" his son":)
        - Nā ga de va
        - bTsan p'yug lde: he goes to Ya ts'e
        - bKra šis lde
        - Grags btsan lde
        - Grags pa lde
        - A so lde
          - ạDsi dar rmal
            - A dsid rmal (but wrongly: dei [Sangha rmal] sras ạdsi dar rmal gyi sras); he first goes to Sa skya then back to the throne
            - Ka lan rmal
            - Par btab rmal (the family of Ya ts'e coming to an end bSod nams lde from Pu raṅ is invited and is called:) Puṇya rmal
          - A nan rmal
            - Riu rmal
            - San gha rmal
      - Ži ba 'od
      - Byaṅ c'ub 'od
  - Sroṅ ṅe

Padma dkar po
p. 107 *a.*



- Ñi ma mgon: banished in mÑa' ris stod:
  - dPal gyi mgon
  - lDe gtsug mgon
  - bKra šis mgon
  - (they are called Žva tsam c'ags[1] or Ya rtse rgyal po)
    - 'Od kyi rgyal mts'an
      - Sroṅ ṅe: he founds mT'o ldiṅ in Guge (Ye šes 'od); his two sons are ordained; he hands over the government to Lha lde
      - K'or re
        - Lha lde
          - 'Od lde
          - Byaṅ c'ub 'od
          - Ži ba 'od

Sum pa mk'an po, p. 152



- Ñi ma mgon
  - dPal lde rig pa mgon: Maṅ yul
  - bKra šis lde mgon: sPu raṅs
  - lDe btsun mgon: Žaṅ žuṅ, Gu ge
    - ạK'or re (Ye šes 'od)
      - Nā gā rā dsa
      - De va rā dsa
    - Sroṅ ṅe
      - Lha lde
        - 'Od lde
          - rTse lde
            - ạBar lde
              - bKra šis lde
                - Bha lde
                  - Nā ga de va
                    - bTsan p'yug lde (Ya ts'er byon, he went to Ya ts'e)
                      - bKra šis lde
                        - Grags btsan lde
                          - Grags pa lde
        - Byaṅ c'ub 'od
        - Ži ba 'od

(Follows on the page 60)

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[1] Viz.: the "hat" the other descendents of bKra šis brtsegs are called: Lham tsam c'ags, "the boots".

A so lde
A dsin dar rmal and An na rmal
Reu rmal
(des rgya gar pai.mi sde maṅ po blaṅ pa:
"he took possession of many territories in India")
Saṅ gha rmal
ạDsin dar rmal
A ạdsin rmal
(he is ordained in Sa skya; he then comes back to his seat)
Ka lan rmal
Par tab rmal
(Ya ts'ei rgyud c'ad: "the family of Ya rtse comes to end")
bSod nams lde comes to Ya ts'e
(he is then called Pu ṇya rmal)
Pra ti rmal
(his minister is dPal ldan grags pa)

Chronicles of Ladakh
p. 92

'Od sruṅ protected mÑa' ris according to religion
lDe dpal ạk'or btsan; 8 monasteries are founded by him in Upper mÑa' ris

sKyid lde Ñi ma mgon — K'ri bKra šis rtsegs dpal
he proceeds to the west:
he is invited to Pu hraṅs and founds Ñi zuṅs
he conquers: mÑa' ris skor gsum

Lha c'en dPal gyi mgon: Mar yul of mÑa' ris
bKra šis mgon: Guge, Pu-hraṅs rtse (= Ya rtse)
lDe gtsug mgon: Zaṅs dkar, Spiti, Spi lcogs

As we can see, the Tibetan sources generally agree as regards the genealogies of the kings of Guge, the only difference being that some of them, depending on the early Sa skya pa chronicles, ignore the sMal, rMal, Malla family; on the other hand, later chronicles like DT, PT, GR, fifth Dalai Lama, contain the list of the kings of Malla descent and record the fusion of the two branches of Purang and Guge.

We also know from GR and PT that the source responsible for this supplement was the yig ts'aṅ of gSer t'og pa Rin c'en rdo rje (GR) which must be the same as the c'os ạbyuṅ of the Yar luṅs jo bo rje (PT, ja, 142, *b*) [1].

The concordance between the Tibetan chronicles (viz. their source) and the inscription proves that Rin c'en rdo rje had access to the family archives of the Mallas or even, which is more probably, that he had a copy of a praśasti similar to that of Dullu: it is quite probable that Pṛthvīmalla had many jayastambhas such as that of Dullu erected in the most important centres of his kingdom. It is likely that some of them, written in Tibetan, where made for his Tibetan territories. We can thus explain how the Tibetan author so faithfully relates the genealogy, giving the same particulars as those found in our inscription. The minister of Pṛthvīmalla is also rightly mentioned in the Tibetan chronicles: he is the Yaśovarman recorded in the inscription on the reservoir near Dullu.

We can add to the sources quoted the partial genealogy contained in the guide (dkar c'ag) of Kojarnāth, a famous Sa skya temple on the border between Tibet and Nepal, to the E. of Taklakot (G. Tucci, *Santi e Briganti*, p. 38 ff. [2]). The title of this guide is Lhar bcas ạgro bai mc'od sdoṅ jo bo dṅul sku mc'ed gsum sṅon byuṅ gi gtam raṅ brjod pai rin c'en... vai ḍū rya sṅon poi pi waṅ. The booklet is a eulogium of ạK'or ạc'ags (Kojarnath in Bye ma sa t'aṅ founded by ạK'or re) and of the three silver images still worshipped there (G. Tucci, *Santi e Briganti*, p. 40). They were the work of two artists, a Nepalese Aśvadharma and a Kashmirian Vaṅ ku la, p. 6, *a*) and represent: Šes rab gyi lha ạjam dpal ye šes sems dpa’, carved according to the rgya lugs, Indian system, with P’yag na pad ma to his right and P’yag na rdo rje to his left[1]. After king sBa le (= Bha le of GR), Koj. adds: “after him there arose, in succession, Bla c’en sTag tsa k’ri ạbar, then his sons K’ri bkra šis dṅos grub mgon and gNam mgon sde. At that time bKra šis sde of the family of the c’os rgyal of Guge came to ạK’or c’ags in Pu raṅ (p. 12, *a*)”. “Afterwards the C’os rgyal A mgon bzaṅ po[2] had in mind the fortune of the holy teaching and of the living beings and repaired the three sorts of religious objects (rten gsum[3] p. 12, *b*)”. Then the Hor invaded Guge and robbed the temple[4].

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[1] See TPS, p. 635.

[2] Cf. Ch. A. Sherring, *Western Tibet*, London 1906, p. 206-7. Pramodakumar Caṭṭopādhyāya, *Himālay pāre Kailās o Mānas-sarovar*, Pravāsī Press. Calcutta, p. 152. Swami Pranavānanda, *Exploration in Tibet*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta 1950, p. 96 ff.

On the genealogy of the kings this book is rather vague; it once says that Nāgarāja and Devarāja were sons of Sroṅ ṅe (= Ye šes ’od) and then states that K’o c’ar was founded by ạK’or re before he was ordained and attributes Lha deva to him as his son, this view being accepted also by other writers: but this name seems a reduplication of Devarāja, lha and deva being identical, (one is Tib. and the other is Sanskrit) or deva is a mistake for sde as in DT etc. Anyhow, the genealogy of these kings is according to the book as follows:

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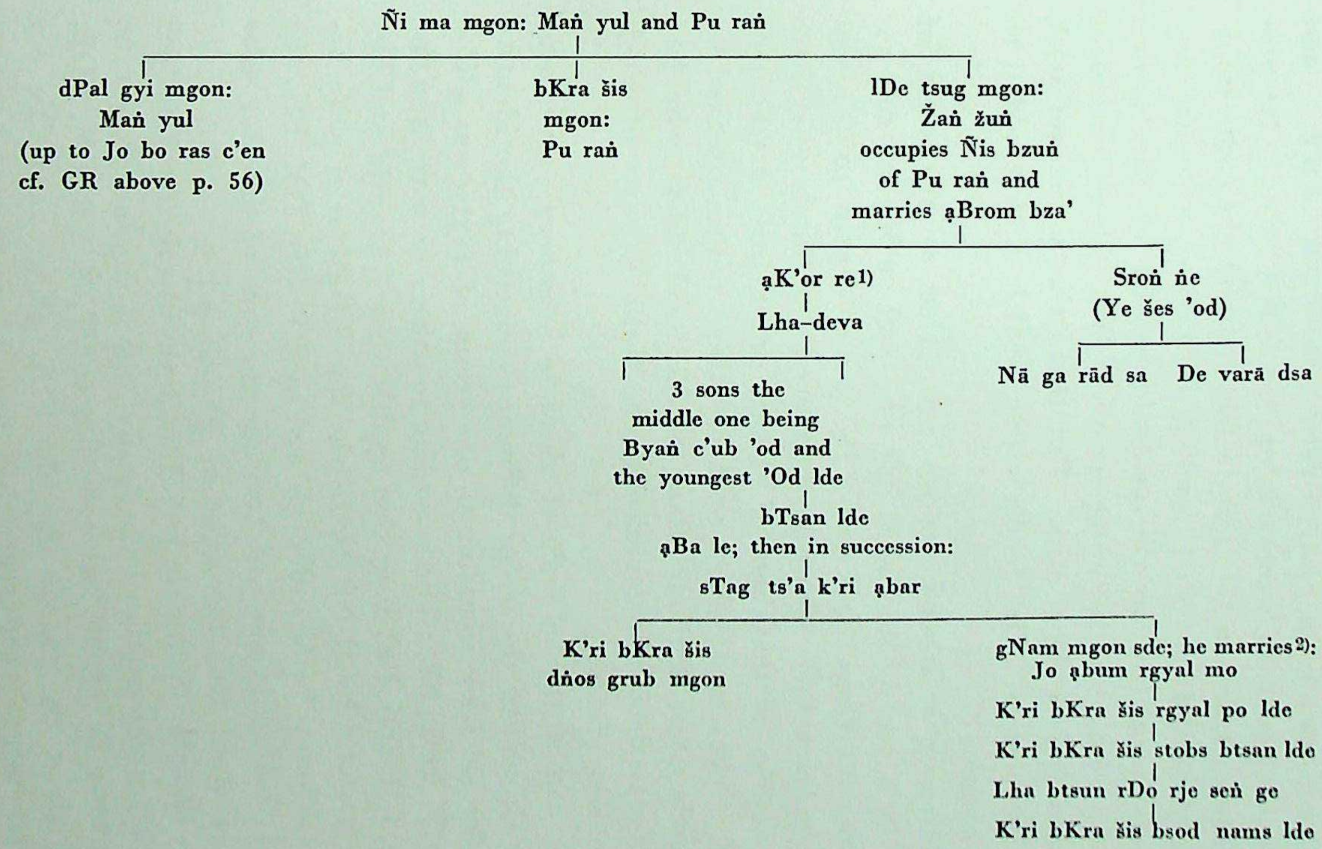
[1] There is a tradition that an image of T’ugs rje c’en po was brought there from Chitor by two princes who fled when the town was captured by the Mohammedans and went to the Manasorovar to take shelter (ạDsam gliṅ rgyas bšad). The connection of Kojarnath with Jumla is referred by the same source which states that some images of Kojarnath were made in Jumla.

[2] This is the c’os rgyal of Glo bo: A mgon bzaṅ po, see above p. 19, f.

[3] sku, gsuṅ, t’ugs.

[4] Most probably the invasion here alluded to is that of Zaīn ul-Abidin (1420-1470) who went as far as Guge, L. PETECH, *A study on the chronicles of Ladakh*, Calcutta 1939, p. 115.

Guide of Kojarnath



Ñi ma mgon: Maṅ yul and Pu raṅ

dPal gyi mgon: Maṅ yul (up to Jo bo ras c'en cf. GR above p. 56)

bKra šis mgon: Pu raṅ

lDe tsug mgon: Žaṅ žuṅ occupies Ñis bzuṅ of Pu raṅ and marries ạBrom bza'

ạK'or re[1)]

Lha-deva

3 sons the middle one being Byaṅ c'ub 'od and the youngest 'Od lde

bTsan lde

ạBa le; then in succession:

sTag ts'a k'ri ạbar

K'ri bKra šis dṅos grub mgon

gNam mgon sde; he marries[2)]: Jo ạbum rgyal mo

K'ri bKra šis rgyal po lde

K'ri bKra šis stobs btsan lde

Lha btsun rDo rje seṅ ge

K'ri bKra šis bsod nams lde

Sroṅ ṅe (Ye šes 'od)

Nā ga rād sa

De varā dsa

[1)] He also was ordained choosing as his bla ma Dsam gliṅ C'os rje of dKar duṅ (on this place see Tucci, *Santi e Briganti*, p. 52 ff.): he founded the castle of dKar duṅ and that of ạK'or c'ags.

[2)] Under his rule K'ri bkra šis sde of Guge came to ạK'or c'ags in Pu raṅ and protected the temple from the danger of the river.

This list starts with the usual genealogy of the descendents of lDe gtsug mgon, ruler of Žaṅ žuṅ, and with many omissions follows it up to ạBa le. Its probable source has been the GR; in fact it gives the same information about Maṅ yul and Jo bo ras c'en and it agrees with GR on the general spelling of the names: (bTsan lde as the successor of 'Od lde instead of the usual rTse lde etc.). But there the agreement with other lists ceases. The family name or title K'ri is added to many names.

Moreover, it is said, as we saw, that at the time of K'ri bKra šis dṅos grub and gNam mgon the king of Guge bKra šis sde came to Pu raṅ (where Kojarnath is located) which seems to imply that here the genealogy of the kings of Purang or at least a fragment thereof is contained. Most probably these names prefixed by the family name K'ri are those of the local rulers who had become vassals of the founders of the Malla dynasty of which we are now speaking.

As can easily be realized there is a general agreement among these lists: the major difference concerning the identity of Ye šes 'od who according to one group of texts was ạK'or re B, DT, VDL, SP, while according to others he was Sroṅ ṅe, PT, Ṅ, GR, DM, PK, Koj; this implies that Nāgarāja and Devarāja are said by B, SP to be the sons of ạK'or re who begot them before being ordained, and by PT, GR, DM, PK, the sons of Sroṅ ne; in any case they are the sons of the king who when ordained took the name of Ye šes 'od.

As regards Lha lde (in Koj, Lha deva mistake for Lha lde? see p. 62) "who continues the family" he is the son of Sroṅ ṅe according to B, DT, SP, but according to PT, Ṅ, GR, DM, VDL, PK of ạK'or re, though for the VDL ạK'or re is Ye šes 'od; this means that there has been a confusion between Devarāja the son of ạK'or re before being ordained and Lha lde: the confusion was perhaps caused by the similarity of the name Lha = deva.

Then we cannot fail to notice that there are two names which are differently spelt in our sources and which follow rTse lde: these two names being ạBar lde, ạBar sde and Bha le, ạBha le, Lha lde (PT) (Bha ne in VDL, who calls him the father of Nāgadeva) predecessor of Nāga lde, Nāgadeva. For the first name a Tibetan origin may be possible (ạbar, ạbar ba) but DT which praises his devotion calls him dBaṅ p'yug lde– and speaks also of one brother: so the tradition as regards this prince is not certain. The case of Bha le, ạBha le, Lha lde, Bha ne is more complicated; the incertainity of the spelling points to some change in the lineage That there was a kind of split, that the record was preserved of some new occurrence in Western Tibetan history is proved not only by the new dynastic title rMal, sMal, Malla and by the Sanskrit turn of the royal names but also by the statements contained in some of these lists:

After ạBar lde PT says: " then in succession bKra šis lde, Lha lde, Nāgadeva became generally (p'al c'er) masters of mṄa' ris "; after ạBha le GR states: " then in succession bKra šis lde, Bha re, Nā ga lde became masters of Guge, sPu raṅs, Mar yul etc. " as to show that there was a change. We shall see how far the data of the inscription throw some light on this problem; for the time being we can only state, as we saw, that these Western Tibetan genealogies seem to go back to two main sources one being represented by DT, VDL, SP and the other by PT, Ṅ, GR, DM, PK, Koj.

Now comparing the data of the Tibetan chroniclers and the list on our inscription, it would appear that there is almost complete agreement between the two series of documents, as is shown by the following scheme:

Inscr.	Tib. Chr.
Nāgarāja	Nāgadeva
Cāpa	
Cāpilla	bTsan p'yug lde
Krāśicalla	bKra šis lde
Krādhicalla	Grags btsan lde
Krācalla	Grags pa lde
Aśokacalla	A so ga, A so lde
Jitārimalla	ạDsin dar smal, ạJi dar smal
Ānandamalla	A nan, A nan ta smal
Ripumalla	Reu, Riu smal
Saṃgrāmamalla	Saṃ gha smal
Ādityamalla son of Ānandam.	A jid smal
Kalyāṇamalla	Ka lan smal
Pratāpamalla	Par t'ab smal
Puṇyamalla of another family	Puṇya rMal (bSod nams) of the family the Purang
Pṛthvīmalla	Pra ti rmal.

The succession is clear except for Kalyāṇam. and Pratāpam., but from DT, GR (see p. 50) DM we gather that Kalyāṇa was the son of Ādityamalla. GR duplicates the name of ạDsi dar smal, see p. 56.

§ 9. – *Chronology*. Now as to chronology, we have some points which seem well ascertained. The religious council of rTse lde was held in the year 1076. An inscription at Balesvar (Sui Bisung) dated 1223 (cf. G. Goetz, *Chronology of the Chand dynasty*, p. 51 from Führer and Atkinson[1]) mentions king

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[1] FÜHRER, *North-Western provinces and Oudh*, Vol. II. *Monumental antiquities and inscriptions*, 1891, p. 50. ATKISNON, *North-Western Provinces Gazetteer*, vol. XI, pp. 516-528.

Krācalla Deva Jina of Kāntipura who most probably is the Krācalla of our list.

The translation of this inscription has been published, so far as we can guess (because the text is not reproduced), in a very imperfect way by Atkinson vol. II, p. 516 f.; from it we learn that Krācalla was a devout Buddhist and that he had destroyed Kārtipura. The inscription was issued in Dullu and it is dated 1145 Śāka = A.D. 1223. Aśokacalla is also not unknown; (see Kielhorn, *Inscriptions of Northern India*, *EI*, V, p. 79; Kielhorn reads wrongly Aśokamalla; so also in Bhandarkar's list of *Inscriptions of Northern India*, *EI*, IX ff., nn. 1454, 1467, 1468). Mention of him is made in three inscriptions found in Bodhgayā; one of them (*Journ. Bo. As. Society*, XVI, p. 357, Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p. 78, plate XXVIII), is dated in Lakṣmaṇa era 51 (reedited *EI*, XII, p. 29).

The second inscription records a Sahaṇapāla a treasurer of Daśaratha younger brother of Aśokacalla king of the Khasa in Sapādalakṣa mountains and is dated Lakṣmaṇa era 74 (*IA*, X, p. 346. *EI*, XII, p. 29).

Mention of the same king is made in an inscription 1) of Puruṣottamasiṃha of the Kamā (Kumaon) country, dated nirvāṇa era 1813, *IA*, X, p. 341 ff. and XLVIII, 43 ff., *JBORS*, IV, 273.

The nirvāṇa era begins in 543 B.C.: as regards the Lakṣmaṇa era much has been written: according to Kielhorn it should start in 1118 A.D. 2) according to Majumdar in 1200 ca. A.D.

According as we accept the one or the other theory we have two different datations:

1) And according to Bhagwān Lāl Indraji, *IA*, X, p. 345 on the Trident of Gopeśvara where Prinsep *JRASB*, V, p. 486 read Aṇekamalla, ATKINSON, *Op. cit.*, II, p. 513.

2) KIELHORN, *IA*, XIX, p. 2; R. D. BANERJE, *JASB*, 1913, p. 271; H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI, *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes.* Part II, p. 1; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *The History of Bengal*, published by the University of Dacca, vol. I, p. 233 and 259; PR. LAL PAUL, *IC*, vol. II, p. 579.

		Kielhorn	Majumdar
Lakṣmaṇa era	51	1170	1251
”	74	1193	1274

The calculation of Kielhorn must be excluded on account of the date of Krācalla: that of Majumdar is highly probable; there are, it is true, only 83 years to cover the reign of 9 kings from Jitārimalla successor of Aśokacalla and the first inscription of Pṛthvīmalla dated 1357: but some of these kings ruled, if they ruled at all, for a short time; Ādityamalla took the vows; the reign of Pratāpamalla seems also to have been short [1].

As regards ạDsi, Dit, in other sources wrongly written ạDsin smal = Ādityamalla, we know from the DT, Blue Annals, p. 605 that in the year 1219 he was initiated by Šes ạbyuṅ: he is called in DT mṅa' bdag gYa' ts'e pa, lord of gYa t'se. But there is no doubt that this date is wrong; Ādityamalla cannot be younger than Krācalla and a longer interval than required is thus given between him and Puṇyamalla: the date of DT cannot therefore be accepted. As regards Pṛthvīmalla the stele of Dullu is dated Śāka 1279 = 1357; the kanakapatra of Jumla (see below) is dated Śāka 1289 = 1376 A.D.

But let us now return to the front of the inscription. Why is it that in this we find another genealogical list? The reply is clear when we remember what we read in the inscription itself and in the Tibetan chronicles as well, that when Pratāpamalla died without leaving any issue (he had been a monk in Sa skya), the throne of Guge (capital Ya rtse) fell into the hands of the rulers of sPu raṅ, sPu hraṅs. This explains why the inscription contains two vaṃṣāvalīs, that of Puṇyamalla from sPu raṅ and that of the kings of Guge whose throne he occupied, when the lineage of the c'os rgyal of the latter country came to an end. It is also clear why, if this is the case, Pṛthvīmalla begins the genealogical table engraved on the inscription with his own family and places on the second face of the stele the genealogy of the Mallas (from Nāgarāja) whom he succeeded and of whom he took the dynastic name. But if the reading of A. l. 16 is exact the Pālas had also entered Guge. (Goha = Goggadesa of Jonarāja?).

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[1] It is worthy of notice that the Tibetan tradition have preserved the record of the pious activities of Aśokacalla in Gayā, see p. 55.

Now this inscription raises many a problem: are these two families, of which the vaṃśāvalīs are here preserved, directly descended from the Lhasa kings as the chronicles would have us to believe?

One might have been tempted to see a change in the royal genealogy of Guge just when the name sMal, rMal, i.e. the Indian name Malla, takes the place of the older dynastic title lde. But our inscription points out that this change took place before, at tbe time of the king called Nāgarāja evidently the same as Nāgadeva of the Tibetan sources.

More than that, we may recall what we said before that there are traces of some new events in the history of Western Tibet also in the Tibetan lists: they show, though indirectly, that some change happened with ạBha le, (see above p. 65) though the real, definitive split happens to be during the times of Nāgadeva: with him the series of the Tibetan names gives place to a purely Indian name; after Aśoka that becomes the rule. On the other hand, the name of the ancestor, Nāgadeva is followed by strange names Cāpilla, Kraśicalla, Krādhicalla, Krācalla, Aśokacalla: we have seen that they correspond to the Tibetan names:

Cāpilla = bsTan p'yug lde
Krāśicalla = bKra šis lde
Krādhicalla = Grags btsan lde

Krācalla = Grags pa lde
Aśokacalla = A śo ga lde

Krāśi, corresponds phoneticaley to Tib. bKra šis [1], A śo ga is evidently Aśoka. In Krādhi–calla, Krā–calla, the syllable Krā, in spite of the analogy with Tib. Grags has nothing to do with it. Even now in Western Tibet grags is pronounced: rag (cf. Jäschke s. v.) nor is there any possibility to explain Krādhi with Grags btsan. The second part of their names calla has as its regular counterpart tib. lde, but it cannot be a transcription of lde; names like Cāpilla occur in other places, in Kashmir, e.g. Cavillākara the predecessor of Kalhaṇa; in Chambā, Sāhilla (on the suffix: illa cf. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, p. 402 ff.). On the other hand, we may rightly surmise that bKra šis, Grags pa, Grags btsan etc., are adaptations into Tibetan of personal names of foreign or non Tibetan character; calla may be an epithet rendered when their names were given a Tibetan form, into lde on the pattern of the title of the previous Tibetan kings; in other words it may be that these rulers, coming from some other part of the Himalayas, and who called themselves Khasa as Aśokalla did in his Gayā inscription (see p. 67), took in Tibet or were given the dynastic names of their predecessors; that there was in the Tibetan part of their kingdom a Tibetanization appears also, as I stated, from the fact that after the sanskrit name Nāgarāja, the genealogical lists followed for a while the Tibetan onomastic patterns.

From our inscription we also gather another very important item of information. We know from the Tibetan sources that the son of Nāgadeva bTsan lde p'yug took possession of Ya ts'e, Ya rtse, Ya tse (PT, GR, VDL, SP) and that when the lineage of the Malla came to an end with Pratāpamalla, Puṇyamalla from Purang came to the capital of the kings of Guge; this capital being Ya ts'e. The first conclusion to be drawn from these statements is that the ancestors of Puṇyamalla were the rulers of Purang and those of Nāgadeva of Guge. We shall came back to this point.

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[1] Though most probably, at that time, final *s* was pronounced.

In conclusion the lists preserved by the Tibetan sources cannot be taken as representing the linear succession of rulers of one and the same family. An invasion from the south-west followed the arrival in Guge of some families from Central Tibet, who were responsible for the first efficient introduction of the Tibetan culture after the colonization started with K'ri sroṅ lde btsan and its conquests. Though the inscription of Dullu is very difficult to read, from what is legible we gather that there was a kingdom in Cīna[1] and that in a battle "ajau" Nāgārāja defeated it and therefore he established his capital is Seṃjā. There followed a period of unrest during which these families tried to enlarge their dominions at the expense of their neighbours, and with varying fortunes. But which were the territories they occupied? How far did their dominions go? it is difficult to say which were the boundaries and limits of these two countries Purang and Guge: the problem is related to that of the extension of mṄa' ris skor gsum, more complicated than it appears at first hand because the limits and the divisions of this large province varied at different dates. A few words should therefore be added concerning the Tibetan country over which these kings ruled, now generally called Guge, as being a part of mṄa' ris skor sum.

§ 10. – *Žaṅ žuṅ and its extension.* I refer to what I have written in TPS; it appears from the sources there collected (Vol. I, p. 252, n. 36 and vol. II, p. 681, n. 52) that mṄa' ris was included in the division of the country into c'ol k'a and k'ri skor made by the Yüan emperors. The

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[1] Perhaps another reference to being a king of Cīna and therefore of Guge (Goha) is, as we saw in A. ll. 16-17; but the reading is doubtful (see above, p. 47).

Yüan shih, chap. 87, p. 14 records a Yüan shuai in Na li su ku erh sun which is evidently mÑa' ris skor sum. This shows that mÑa' ris was already divided at the time of the Yüan into three skor or districts. Which were at that time the three districts? It seems to me that Mar yul, viz, Ladakh and surrounding centres, Guge and Purang had at different times different extensions.

We infer from the *Chronicles of the V Dalai Lama* that the mÑa' ris, over which the Mongols extended their nominal suzerainty, stretched as far as Lartse in Purig, the rulers of Ladakh, Guge and Purang maintaining their principalities under the distant supervision or control of the Mongols and their vicars the Sa skya pa hierarchs. This is implicitely stated by the Dam pai c'os ạbyun ts'ul which tells us that mÑa' ris skor gsum was represented by Mal yul mts'o Guge and Purang. Guge and Purang are well defined, the name Mal yul of the same text can be corrected either into Mar yul or into Maṅ yul[1].

Maṅ yul is a district of Southern and South Western Tsang, bordering on Nepal, its foremost place being sKyid groṅ, Kirong. Maṅ yul at the time of the Mongols had become an integral part of Tibet. That region had been to a large extent the theatre of the activity of Milaraspa. It should therefore not be considered as being identical with Mar yul which corresponds roughly to Ladakh. Indeed mÑa' ris means literally: "part, share of power" as distinct from the provinces of Tibet proper which formed the original confederation of the Tibetan clans united under the king's sway. mÑa' ris represented an area which was the private territory of the king, conquered in the course of wars. Indeed from an old source we know that under the name of Bod yul stod,

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[1] Or it has preserved the original form: Mal from Mālava name of an himalayan tribe (Ladakh and bordering countries); cf. below, p. 94, n. 1.

Upper Tibet, mÑa' ris, many border provinces were included, TPS, vol. I, p. 252, n. 36 [1]:

1. skor: Pu raṅs, Mar yul, Zaṅs dkar.
2. skor: Li (Khotan), Gru ža (Bru ža, Gilgit; sBal te (Baltistan).
3. skor: Žaṅ žuṅ, K'ri te stod and smad.

This division is recorded also by the ạDsam bu gliṅ rgyas bšad though here (at least in my copy) some names are misspelt:

1. skor: sPu raṅ, Maṅ yul (= Mar yul), Zaṅs dkar;
2. skor: C'i ba (= Li), Bru ža, sPal ti;
3. skor: Žaṅ žuṅ, K'rig pa (for K'ri ta) stod gsum (corr.: stod smad gsum).

This division is much wider than the usual one: it covers first the westernmost countries of Purang, and Mar yul, which is here evidently Ladakh (and must not be confused with Maṅ yul much farther to the east) and Zaṅs dkar.

Then it includes the northern and north western countries Khotan, Gilgit, and Baltistan. Then it passes to the land between Tibet and the above said provinces, viz. Žaṅ žuṅ, K'ri te upper and lower; in K'ri te (Hsüan tsang: Ki li to) we must recognize the Kirāta, who lie to the east of the Kali–Ganga [2].

This division though attributed to the Mongols is clearly taken from old sources and reflects a situation going back to the times of the Tibetan kingdom when Tibet controlled a great part of Central Asia. Later, as we gather from the other catalogue contained in the *V Dalai Lama's Chronicles* and in another passage of the ạDsam bu gliṅ rgyas bšad which reproduce the situation at the time of the

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[1] From the biography of bSod nams mc'og ldan bstan pai rgyal mts'an written by the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 28 *a*.

[2] K. Rönnow, *Kirāta*, Le Monde Oriental, vol. XXIX, 1935, p. 133.

Mongols, mÑa' ris or stod mÑa' ris[1] included the following 3 skor:

1. sTag mo, La dvags,
2. Maṅ yul, Žaṅ žuṅ
3. Guge, Pu hraṅs.

It is difficult to locate sTag mo; it may be the same as Lartse in Purig alluded by the *V Dalai Lama's Chronicles* or sTag poi la in the S. W. of Baltistan. Anyhow it is clear that this skor is the westernmost, and included Ladakh. Maṅ yul, Žaṅ žuṅ corresponds approximately to the country to the right and left of the Indus from Tīrthapuri up to Demchog, and Chumurti.

This again shows that this Maṅ yul cannot be confused with Maṅ yul of Kirong[2]. Such a division is no doubt that adopted also at the times of the author of the ạDsam bu gliṅ rgyas bšad; anyhow it is clear that all catalogues proceed from West to East and not viceversa: therefore this Maṅ yul = Mar yul, is different from Maṅ yul of Kirong; still this confusion is frequently found in Tibetan sources (cf. f.i. Vai ḍū rya ser po in Tucci, *Tibetan Notes*, *HJAS*, Vol. XII, 1949, p. 491).

It also appears that Guge and Žaṅ žuṅ were, at least for a certain time, two different things: Guge is ignored in the oldest list referred to above, and it appears only once in TH and to be exact in the latest fragments when Žaṅ žuṅ had already been annexed: Žaṅ žuṅ is the only name of the country recorded in the older sections of TH. It was only at a later period that Žaṅ žuṅ appears as divided into three parts, one retaining the name of Žaṅ žuṅ and corresponding to the country to the west of the Kailāsa up to Toling: K'yuṅ luṅ dṅul dkar was its center; Guge was the portion to the south of the Sutlej, and Purang the south-eastern part. In the Bon po books only Žaṅ žuṅ is mentioned.

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[1] Because Maṅ yul of rDsoṅ ka also was sometimes considered as mÑa' ris it was mÑa' ris smad (see above p. 17).

[2] It shows also that Ladakh and Mar yul (Maṅ yul) are not coextensive.

In fact in the ạDsam gliṅ rgyas bšad, p. 10, we read that Guge was to the east of the sde called ạDar ba, which is certainly the present Dabadzong to the East of La dvags, Ladakh.

On the other hand, Purang is said to be to the east of Guge straight in front (viz. to the south) of Gaṅs ri viz. Kailāsa, its capital being Ya ts'e. We shall return to Ya rtse, but there seems to be little doubt that at the time of the author of the ạDsam gliṅ rgyas bšad the capital of Purang was, as it is now, Taklakot.

Therefor Žaṅ žuṅ and Guge are not synonyms. Žaṅ žuṅ was the old name of all western Tibet of which Guge was a part, as is evidenced by some of the sources quoted above.

Žaṅ žuṅ itself was divided into two parts: stod and smad; the name Žaṅ žuṅ slowly disappeared, superseded by that of Guge given to all the country though originally this was only a part of Žaṅ žuṅ. It is the same division recorded by Grags pa rgyal mts'an, the oldest source at out disposal (1147-1216), who makes bKra šis mgon rule over Žaṅ žuṅ exterior and interior, Pu raṅ and Ya rtse. The third share allotted to sDe (= lDe) gtsug mgon was "K'u bo la sogs mon yul, K'u bo[1] together with the other territories of the Mon".

The division of Žaṅ žuṅ in stod and smad, upper and lower, goes back at least to the times of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan.

§ 11. – *The organization of the Tibetan state during the old dynasty*. A very interesting section is contained in PT which gives an idea of the organization of the State said to be in use at the time of Sroṅ btsan sgam po: but references to Buddhism and the names of some officials (rGyal gzigs k'ri, sKyes bzaṅ etc.), prove beyond doubt that the document refers, at least in the form known to PT, to the times of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan [1]. As a matter of fact the document may be composed of two parts which belong to two different periods: while in the first catalogue the territory is divided into five ru, banners, the non-Tibetan banner being that of the Sum pa, in the military catalogue we have seven banners, Upper Žaṅ žuṅ and Lower Žaṅ žuṅ being included; but we know that Žaṅ žuṅ was definitely annexed under K'ri sroṅ lde btsan though from the times of Sroṅ btsan sgam po it had been reduced to a state of vassalage. The Sumpas on the other hand had already been annexed by Sroṅ btsan sgam po (TH, p. 130). The most ancient catalogue is perhaps that of the army. It is also certain that PT, as usual, copied from the archives to which he had access: this is proved by the similarity with analogous passages contained in bKa' t'aṅ studied by Prof. F. W. Thomas and myself [2]. Though I am here interested in Žaṅ žuṅ, and the passage in question is fully examined in my translation of the work of PT, which is ready for the press, I think it useful to summarize its contents, because it gives the best survey of the Tibetan organisation at the time of the successors of Sroṅ btsan sgam po and allows us to have a better idea of Žaṅ žuṅ.

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[1] Perhaps Kunu.

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[1] But this does not mean that the organization of the state was not made by Sroṅ btsan sgam po–; he was certainly the real founder of the Tibetan power in so far as he succeeded in establishing his unchallenged authority upon the feudal chiefs (the movement had already started with his grand father see TH, p. 133).

PT makes him say that the peace in the kingdom is not caused by the ministers; the ministers are appointed by him: formerly there was no law and the kinglets or feudal lords (rgyal p'ran) were divided and independent. He appointed four ministers for the settlement of the state: (k'os dpon):

mGar sTon btsan yul bzuṅ (TH, p. 139) as k'os dpon for Tibet, K'yuṅ po pun zuṅ tse (TH, p. 139) for Žaṅ žuṅ, Hor bya žu riṅ po for Sum pa.

Superintendent of cavalry (c'ibs kyi k'od dpon): dBas bZaṅ dpal legs.

Superintendent to information, of spies, mt'oṅ k'yab kyi k'od dpon (THOMAS, TLT, II, pp. 121, 424 "watchtower" TH, mt'oṅ k'yab k'ri "division territoriale"): Cog ro rgyal mts'an γyaṅ mgon. They resided respectively in Skyi šod šo ma ra (cf. TH, p. 48, 49, 52), K'yuṅ luṅ rṅul mk'ar (the then capital of Žaṅ žuṅ), Nam gža don gram pa ts'al; the last two in Ri bo γYa'dmar.

[2] TLT, p. 276 ff., TPS, p. 737. But the present catalogue reflects the period of the largest expansion of the Tibetan kingdom: it contains 61 stoṅ sde instead of

PT. Ja – 19 *a*

BOUNDARIES OF THE FIVE BANNERS (Ru)
(Ru mts'ams)

A) dBus

I. – dBu-ru

E. 'Ol k'ai šug pa dpun bdun
S. rMal la la brgyud (the passes of rMa la)
W. gŽu sñe mo
N. Prags kyi glaṅ ma gur p'ub;
center 1): Lha sa Ra mo c'e

II. – γYo-ru

E. Koṅ yul bres sna 2)
S. Sa 'ug stag sgo 3).

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34 of KT, though the number of districts of Tibet proper is still eighteen. Žaṅ žuṅ and Sum pa are considered from the military point of view as an integral part of the country. It appears from this catalogue that the South Eastern parts of present day Tibet are not included and were not under the control of Lhasa.

1) dbus ts'aṅ; once only dbus. 'Ol k'a is well known: see f. i. G. TUCCI, *To Lhasa and beyond*, p. 130 ff.: Glaṅ ma gur p'ub may be near Glaṅ t'aṅ. sÑe mo is to the SW of Tshurpu and E of Uyug IT, I, p. 19-20. As to rMal la one may think of rMal ạgro SE of Lhasa: a rMal ạgro rin c'en gliṅ was near 'Olk'a; see life of bSod nams grags pa by the *V Dalai Lama*, p. 46, *b*. But H. R. Richardson would rather think to a part of the range south of Lhasa which contains the Gokar and Tekar La.

2) Viz Koṅ po between the gTsaṅ po and the Ñaṅ c'u and to the E of rGyal me tog t'aṅ.

3) Not located.

W. K'a rag gaṅs rtse[1]
N. rMal la
center: Yar luṅs K'ra ạbrug[2]

B) gTsaṅ

III. – γYas-ru

E. Prags kyi glaṅ ma gur p'ub
S. gÑa' nam γyag poi sna[3]
W. Bye ma la dgu[4]
N. sMri ti c'u nag[5]
center: Zoṅ pa ts'al in Šaṅs[6]

IV. – Ru lag

E. ạJam ne bkra[7]
S. Bal po glaṅ sna[8]
W. La kem γyag mig[9]
N. Bye ma la sṅon[10]
center: Braṅ kyi dur pa snal[11]

V. – Sum pai ru
(supplementary banner)

E. gÑe yul bum nag
S. sMri ti c'u nag

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[1] Group of mountains to the South of the gTsaṅ po and to the east of Gam pa la. Cf. G. Tucci, *To Lhasa and beyond*, Rome 1956, p. 67.

[2] On K'ra ạbrug see G. Tucci, *To Lhasa and beyond*, p. 136.

[3] Not identified.

[4] Not identified. NW of Gyantse there was Bye mda' IT, IV, I, p. 56.

[5] I cannot locate this river: perhaps it is to be found the SW of Amdo (Nagkschu? c'u nag means: black river; ti might be related to ti = water, river, in which case we would have here a Žaṅ žuṅ word or of some related dialect). We must remember that gTsaṅ was much bigger than at present *and that the direction of the banners was from NE to SW*, TPS.

[6] Zoṅ in Šaṅs to the north of gTsaṅ po and NW of Shigatze.

[7] Not identified.

[8] Perhaps some place near the border whith Nepal.

[9] Perhaps Yamik-tso in which case the place should be located near Tok-jalung.

[10] Not identified.

[11] Not identified. H. E. Richardson would refer to rDur pa of TH.

W. Yel žabs sdiṅs po c'e
N. Nags šod gzi ạp'raṅ
center: rGya šod stag pa ts'al 1)

Total:

gTsaṅ	γYas ru	1
	Ru lag	1
dBus	dBu ru	1
	γYo ru	1
	Sum pai ru	1
	Total	5 Banners

(but in the text: yan lag gsum pai ru; gsum for sum)

The 18 shares of power (dbaṅ ris)
as assigned to different clans

	Country	Clans
1	dBu ru šod c'en, the great lower tracts	btsan po mṅa' bdag, the btsan po, the master
2	p'o braṅ sne c'e, the palace and its border-lands	btsan po rgyal ạbaṅs, btsan po [and] royal subjects
3	Yar luṅs etc.	K'u gÑags 2)
1	Ya ạbrog Gaṅs k'yim ku riṅs	5 sde
2	ạC'iṅ da [ṅa?] ạc'iṅ yul	mGos (see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, I, p. 50 in KT [TPS, p. 737] included in lower gTsaṅ) sNubs
3	Bya 'ug sa ts'igs 3)	5 Draṅ rje 4) p'a

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1) gÑe yul bum nag corresponds probably to rGyal roṅ. H. E. Richardson would suggest a possible relation with Yul Yel of TH; Nag šod often recorded in TLT (II, p. 30; 125 *b*-130, 156, 240, 275, 299, 318, 348-50) cannot be in the Lop region (see below p. 91): Nags šod "the forest low land" is a topographical term applicable to several areas.

2) So also in the Cat. of KT, TLT, I, p. 280.

3) Perhaps either U yug, or Ug pa; we know of a Ba'ug in gTsaṅ. IT, IV, I, p. 56.

4) Draṅ rje = lord of Draṅ (border country of γYas ru KT in TLT, I, p. 280) as regards p'a lṅa cf. p'a drug, Pherugh, near Mount Everest Das, *Journey*, pp. 34, 38, TLT, III, p. 16. There is a Bya in sÑemo (east of Uyug).

4	Brad and Žoṅ pa	sNa nam (located in – KT, TLT, I, p. 280 – gYo ru)
5	Brag rum upper and lower	Ts'e spoṅ (located in KT, TLT, I, p. 280 in gYo ru, properly in P'yi luṅ Near P'yoṅ rgyas, see TTK, p. 31. P'yiṅ na, P'yiṅ stag rtse).
6	gTsaṅ, upper and lower	Bro ạK'yuṅ po [1]
7	Nam po ạdru in Kluṅs šod P'yugs mts'ams [2]	missing.
8	ạP'an yul stoṅ sde (See above p. 52, n. 1)	sGro rMa
9	Ñaṅ ro and ạgrom pa [3]	ạBre lCe
10	Šaṅs and Gle P'yi ri	Gle [4]
11	Yuṅ pa great and small	Bran ka (in the catalogue of KT, TLT, I, p. 279 Yel žabs belongs to the Bran k'a).
12	three sde of Ža gaṅ	sBas blon po (in TLT, I, p. 279) upper and lower sKyid
13	Nam ra (Nam ru to the W. of Amdo) C'ag goṅ	ạBriṅ and (cf. in KT, TPS, p. 738 ạBriṅ and P'yag) C'ag
14	ạDam šod (perhaps Dam north of Lhasa) dKar mo	P'ya Rva
15	mDo k'ams mDo c'en	8 rgod stoṅ sde

18 districts

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[1] According to KT (see TPS, p. 736) ạBro in Upper and K'yuṅ po in lower gTsaṅ (ru lag).

[2] In Amdo. Cf. Thomas, *Nam*, p. 32 ff.

[3] On Ñaṅ ro (Myaṅ ro) viz. Ñaṅ ro stod and smad, see Tucci, IT, V. I, p. 49, ạGrom pa is also in gTsaṅ, cf. KT catalogue in TLT, I, p. 277.

[4] Cf. KT (TPS, p. 738) Riṅ sle bya of Šaṅs. gTsaṅ Gle luṅ is in the valley of the Mus c'u.

MILITARY DIVISION 1)

As regards the rgod stoṅ sde

each banner has:

8 rgod stoṅ sde	great military chiliarchies
1 stoṅ bu c'uṅ	small chiliarchy
1 sku sruṅ gi stoṅ sde	chiliarchy of guards, personal guards.
10	

I. – dBu ru

1) Dor sde (TLT, I, p. 279; it is in rMa but the rMa clan being in ạP'an yul Dor sde could be just in ạP'an yul (suggestion of H. E. Richardson)
2) sDe mts'ams (TLT, I, p. 279 from KT sTe ạjam)
3) P'yugs mts'ams (*Ibid.*)
4) ạBraṅ mts'ams (*Ibid.*)
5) Com pa (TLT, I, p. 279 bCom pa)
6) ạBri mts'ams (TLT, I, p. 279 ạBrin mts'am; a ạBri mts'ams is in gTsaṅ, perhaps on the boundary with dBus IT, IV, I, p. 83; we can also think of ạBri k'uṅ)
7) sKyid stod (*Ibid.*)
8) sKyid smad (*Ibid.*)

1 Stoṅ bu c'uṅ = Yel rab (in TLT, I, p. 279 better: Yel žabs, because Yel rab is in γYas ru)
1 sku sruṅ = the eastern side

10

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1) The division into chiliarchies, thousand-districts, is a territorial division, as can be gathered from their names which correspond to places: chiliarchies were so called because each territory was obliged to contribute in case of war a regiment of one thousand men. This military partition of the country is later than that reflected in the catalogue of the five banners (see p. 76); in fact we can easily perceive that the boundaries of dBu ru of that catalogue are more restricted than those shown in the military classification. P'yug mts'ams, Com pa, Dor sde (if the identification proposed by Thomas is exact, and if we are not confronted with duplication of place names) are far beyond the actual limits of dBus as specified at p. 77.

It should also be remembered that this list roughly corresponds to that of KT, (= TLT, p. 276 ff. and TPS, p. 737). Moreover the sku sruṅ regiments are so disposed as to form a kind of protection on the four sides of dBus, which was the residence of the bTsan po, mṅa' bdag and therefore the center of the state; the sku

II. – γYo ru

1) Yar luṅs
2) ạP'yiṅ luṅ (Cf. above p. 80)
3) Yar mts'ams perhaps Byar east of Yar lha šam po and north of Lho k'a
4) γYu ạbaṅs (cf. Yu sna of TH, p. 137)
5) Dags po (South of the gTsaṅ po East of Yar luṅ)
6) Ñag ñi [1]
7) dMyal (in TLT, I, p. 280 gÑal to the SE of Gri gu mt'so between Lo ro c'u and gÑal c'u Nycchu of the maps)
8) Lho brag (to the SE of P'u ma ts'o and the northern boundary of Bhutan)

1 stoṅ bu c'uṅ	Lo ro (to the south of Lho k'a)
1 sku sruṅ	the northern side

10

III. – γYas ru

1) sToṅ c'en (perhaps a mistake for sTod yoṅs of KT, TLT, p. 279; TPS, p. 738)
2) Šaṅs c'en (see above pp. 79, 80)
3) Laṅ mi
4) P'od dkar
5) Ñen gar. The place is frequently quoted in TH; it was the residence of the kings and a fertile country (TH, p. 158) probably betwen lower γYo ru and gTsaṅ
6) ạBraṅ mts'ams
7) sPo rab
8) gŽoṅ (= Žoṅ žoṅ in the walley of the Šaṅs c'u cf. Blue Annals, I, p. 733) [2]

1 stoṅ bu c'uṅ:	Šaṅs
1 sku sruṅ	those of the western side

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sruṅ of dBu ru were on the east, those of γYo ru provided to the defence of the North, those of γYas ru of the West, those of the supplementary banner of the South.

[1] Ñag ñi is connected with Dags po in TH, p. 82, III: the list of KT instead of γYu ạbaṅs, Yar mts'ams, Ñag ñi has: lJaṅ kyaṅ, Luṅ pa, Ñaṅ: our list is chiefly concerned with the countries to the south of the gTsaṅ po: therefore Ñag ñi might also be found there: as lJaṅ kyaṅ, for that same reason, cannot be the well known lJaṅ, otherwise we must surmise that the two lists belong to two different periods.

[2] The localities quoted in this catalogue belong to γYas ru viz. to gTsaṅ; therefore P'od dkar must be located there and not in NE Tibet as suggested by Prof. THOMAS, TLT, II, p. 294; as to sKyaṅ ro named in connection with the samep lace it is

IV. – Ru lag

1) Maṅ gar (To the south of the gTsaṅ po and the NW of Sa skya)
2) K'ri som
3) Grom pa (the district of Lha rtse)
4) Lha rtse (to the north of Sa skya)
5) Myaṅ ro (See IT, IV, I, p. 49: see above p. 80, n. 3)
6) K'ri ạt'aṅ (TLT, I, p. 272 K'ri t'a)
7) K'aṅ sar
8) Gad pram (TLT, I, p. 277 Gad bkram; Gad in IT, IV, p. 173)

1 stoṅ bu c'uṅ: mTs'o ṅos
1 sku sruṅ those of the southern side

10

V. – Upper Žaṅ žuṅ

1) 'O co [1] } On the boundary of Bod and Gru gu
2) Maṅ ma }
3) gÑe ma [2]
4) Tsa mo

1 stoṅ bu c'uṅ: Ba ga

VI. – Lower Žaṅ žuṅ

1) Gug ge [3] } between Bod and Sum pa
2) Cog la }
3) sByi gTsaṅ

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also in gTsaṅ and properly near Iwang cf. IT, IV, I, p. 135, rKyaṅ ro; rKyaṅ p'u = Samada *Ibid.*, p. 93 ff.; ạBraṅ luṅ is also recorded in some rGyal rtse's inscriptions, IT, p. 153, 263; as regards sPo rab cf. sPo k'aṅ in gTsaṅ, *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[1] 'O tso ('Otso bag) of TLT, II, p. 293, 460-1, etc. Has it anything to do with 'Oṅ, Oṅ ṅu in Gru gu according to a passage of Pad ma t'aṅ yig? TLI, I, p. 279; II, p. 288.

[2] Perhaps Ñi mo (Ñi mo bag) of TLT, II, p. 293. The 'og dpon there named belongs to a clan called Rhye lig: cf. Lig, dynastic name of the kings of Žaṅ žuṅ, and the name of one of these kings: Lig Myi rhya, see below, p. 106.

[3] But later: Gug. Cf. Guran, TH, p. 34, year 675: the place is in Žaṅ žuṅ but near the Dru gu.

4) Yar gTsaṅ

1 stoṅ bu c'uṅ: Ci di (Perhaps the same as Ce ti TLT, II, p. 272)

10

VII. - Sum pai ru

1) rTse mt'on
2) Po mt'on
3-4) rGod ts'an upper and lower
5-6) ạJoṅ upper and lower
7-8) Dra upper and lower
9) K'a ro
10) K'a zaṅs

1 stoṅ bu c'uṅ: Nags šod [1].

11

total 61 rgod [2] stoṅ sde
under 61 stoṅ dpon, chiliarchs.

ARMY.

I. - dBu ru { Upper / Lower }

2 Ru dpon { sNa nam rgyal rgan / sBas skyes bzaṅ stag sna }

2 dpa'zla (KT sgab, TLT, I, p. 285), sub-commanders. { gNon ạp'an gsum / Šod bu k'on btsan }

banner horse: tawney-horse with white spotted mane.

mts'al bu [3]: gzig riṅ (=gzig ris? leopard coloured, spotted).

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[1] Many of these places are known from *TLT*, On Nags šod see above p. 79, n. 1: K'a ro is probably K'a dro, Caḍ'ota, Niya, THOMAS) so ạJoṅ, upper and lower, is = ạDsom upper and lower, rGod ts'an upper and lower = rGod upper and lower, rTse mt'on=rTse mton TLT, II, p. 161 and 318 also Se t'on, rTse t'on see THOMAS, *AO*, 1934, p. 47, probably Ch'i t'un in Shan Shan.

[2] rgod= warrior: rgod ni ạbaṅs rab ts'an dmag gi las byed pai miṅ ste.

[3] In the corresponding place of KT (TLT, I, p. 277) regular mention is made of yig ts'aṅs pa: therefore the meaning should be " certificate, diploma " cf. below,

banner ensign, (ru dar) red; lce k'ra[1] probably a kind of a hawk, k'ra, (cf. lce spyaṅ, ce spyaṅ, jackal); silk of the flag (dpal dar): red.

II. – γYo ru 2 Ru dpon Myaṅ stag gzig γyu btsan
mC'ims rgyal gzigs šud
2 dpa' zla gYas maṅ bžer
So gad gñan bžer
banner horse: yellowish brown horse.
mts'al bu: blue (rtiṅ dkar[2])
banner-ensign: red lion.
silk: white with black dots (dar dkar sñiṅ nag).

III. – Ru lag 2 ru dpon ạBro rgyal mts'an seṅ ge
K'yuṅ po γyui zuṅ
2 dpa' zla gNam sde gur ts'ab
mC'ims? . . . gzigs
banner horse: horse isabell coloured with red and brownish tufts of hair: black mane.
banner-ensign: white lion flying in the air.
silk: black.

IV. – γYas ru 2 ru dpon K'yuṅ po stag bzaṅ stoṅ
mGos k'ri gñen γyaṅ ạp'yos
2 dpa' zla Pa ts'ab mts'o žer tsaṅ lod
Laṅ pa mgon ne
banner horse: blue horse.
mts'al bu: me stag, sparkling.

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p. 88; mts'al bu may be connected with mts'al vermilion, cf. gorkhali: lāl mōhor: royal rescript or with mts'al bu, small piece of wood, slath. As a matter of fact many of these slaths found in Central Asia bear only names of soldiers cf. В. С. Воробьев–Десятовский, Коллекция тибетских документов на дереве, собранная С. Е. Маловым, Ученые записки Института Востоковедения, А. Н. СССР, Том, VI, 1953, pp. 167-175 and the review of C. URAY in *Acta Orient. Hung.*, Tom., IV, fasc. 1-3, 1955, p. 304 1). Perhaps each mts'al bu had a different colour according to the army and also a symbol of the regiment.

[1] Ru dar dmar po lce k'ra daṅ dpal dar dmar po: text corrupt; the text usually gives both the emblem which is an animal and the colour of the flag; KTK, V, p. 9, me lce, flame (THOMAS, TLT, p. 279, n. 10).

[2] rtiṅ dkar = mt'iṅ k'a or mt'iṅ dkar, whitish blue.

ensign: k'yuṅ
silk: black with spots

civilians, labourers

γyuṅ mi sde[1] (γyuṅ opposite to rgod)
also called k'eṅ (it has nothing to do with Ch. 耕 kêng to cultivate, to till.) dbaṅs las byed kyi miṅ
also called: yaṅ k'eṅ (= bran) or ñiṅ = γyog
over them Sris pa sNubs rje (TH, p. 83) etc. 9 rje, masters, in all.

7 rdsi; lo ṅam rta rdsi[2] etc. equerries, grooms
7 garoṅ sga mk'an saddle makers[3] etc.
5 rgya ja ts'oṅ pa merchants of Chinese tea, etc.; 3 holders of woven[4] tents etc. (?) gdags sbra ạdsin etc.
4 kings who should procure all necessary things:

Nam pa	lde rgyal[5]
Bal po	li rgyal (king furnisher of bell metal)
Sum pa	lcags rgyal (iron)
Mon	rtse rgyal (amusements: it should be remembered that even now in Ladakh the musicians etc. are said to be Mon[6]).

They collected taxes (dpya), offered tribute and were included among subjects.

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[1] Therefore some passages of TH should be translated accordingly: f.i., p. 26, year 94 skyi rnams su rgod γyuṅ gi p'a los c'en po bkuk: a great p'a los of military men and civilians were summoned; pa los has the meaning of census; the same at p. 51.

[2] Lo ṅam is the name of the equerry who killed the king Gri gum: he also was a rta rdsi: therefore it is not a personal name but a name of an officer: chief groom. Cf. TLT, III, p. 60.

[3] But the meaning of ga roṅ is uncertain.

[4] sBra is tent: gdags perhaps from ạt'ag? On the tents (black) and the Tibetan army, see TLT, I, p. 273.

[5] It is difficult to ascertain the meaning of lde here: it may be: peas; or ornament, ointment, medicine, or generally treasure; since each kingdom supplies some useful goods I think the meaning of ornament is here preferable.

[6] On the Mon in Ladakh cf. R. Biasutti e G. Dainelli, *Spedizione italiana de' Filippi*, Serie II, Vol. IX; I, *Tipi umani*, p. 137 ff., 159 ff.; TLT, II, p. 288.

OFFICIALS [1].

stod	ạBro	3 sku žaṅ
smad	mC'ims	
bar	sNa nam	
sBas	blon	blon c'en

3 dpa' bai sde, regiment of the brave men

1) Upper countries (stod)
(ạBro, K'yuṅ, mGar, sNubs, gÑon; these were dpon of the 5 sde of Gug and C'og) from Ri braṅ stag pa goṅ up to Mon dbral k'a bži subduers of the Gru gu.
intermediate countries (bar): sBas, dpon of Nags šod from Ri pen ma luṅ up to C'a skod daṅ pa subduer of lJaṅ.
lower country (smad): 9 sde of mT'on k'yab srid and 6 stoṅ sde of the A ža, from rMa bom ra (? reading doubtful) up to Ka t'aṅ klu ts'e [2]; the son of lTon lton, officer of P'yugs mts'am, subduer of China.

7 dpon [3]	1	yul dpon civil officer	– judicial power in small places (yul c'uṅ k'rims)
	2	dmag dpon military officer	– subduers of the enemies
	3	c'ibs dpon road department	– guides (gšegs pai bšul mts'on)
	4	rṅan dpon finance officer	– (ạbru daṅ gser daṅ dṅul gyi gñer byed pa)
	5	p'ru dpon suprintendent of cattle	– (ạbri mdso p'ru mai gñer)
	6	draṅ dpon police, magistrates	– (žal ce gcod pa)

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[1] For other lists of officials see H. E. RICHARDSON, *Ancient Hist. Edicts at Lhasa*, pp. 73-82, TLT, II, p. 318 ff., III, pp. 91-92.

[2] For a reference to victorious wars of the Tibetans against Dru gu, lJaṅ and China see TLT, II, p. 107, p. 267 ff., III, p. 43.

[3] The 7th is missing.

6 great precepts bka' ạgros,
6 patents yig ts'aṅs
6 seals, marks bkai p'yag rgya
6 pecularities rkyen
6 military distinctions dpa' mts'an
on top: 6 k'rims yig, the Laws: = total 36, institutions (Bod kyi k'os)

I. – 6 great precepts:

1 not to curb the neck of the soldier, to support the old among the labourers
2 not to appoint a military man in place of a labourer
3 not to issue a command to, give orders to (bka' la mi gdags) a woman or a priest (mo btsun)
4 to defend the boundaries,
to provide rations for (ạts'al for ạts'al ma?) the subjects and not to weary the horse by fast riding
5 to subdue enemies and to protect subjects
6 to practice the 10 virtues and to avoid the ten sins.

II. – yig tsaṅ, highest: gold,
patents, diplomas: turquoise
middle: silver,
silver inlaid (p'ra men)
lowest: copper
iron
6
} each may be higher and lower
= 12; that is:

blon c'en big turquoise letter
blon c'en of middle rank and naṅ blon c'en po } turquoise letter, small
lower blon and middle naṅ blon and great judge bka' yo gal ạc'os pa c'en po } gold letter, big
lower naṅ blon and middle bka' blon gold, small
lower bka' blon silver inlaid (p'ra men)

master of seminary (c'os grai slob dpon), exorcist (skui sṅags mk'an) dbaṅ blon higher stod and lower smad (stod smad dbaṅ blon)[1]	silver, big
sku ts'o bai bon po viz. the bon po who makes one recover from a disease, gzims mal pa, officer of the bed-chamber; c'ibs k'ab equerry byaṅ t'aṅ gi sa mk'an, guide of Byaṅ t'aṅ; mt'ar so k'a sruṅ frontier guard sku mk'ar rtse sruṅ officer in charge of the castle	silver, small
yab ạbaṅs rus drug etc. descendents of the six ancestral tribes? (TPS, p. 716)	bronze
chiliarchs and banner officers, stoṅ dpon, and ru dpon	copper
heroes in battle, γyul du dpa' ba	iron

6 p'yag rgya[2]: 1) bka' btags – government seal of a proclaim, an order
2) box, sign of market[3], (sgrom bu, k'rom rtags)
3) banner-ensign, sign of the country (ru mts'on, yul rtags)
4) temple, sign of the Law (lha k'aṅ c'os rtags)
5) castle, sign of the heroes (sku mk'ar dpa' rtags)[4]
6) tiger-skin coat, sign of the nobles (stag slag mdsaṅs rtags),

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[1] The expression is very difficult: the fact that here priests and exorcists are mentioned makes it probable that the dbaṅ blon were also priests conferring a kind of initiation in religion: dbaṅ = dbaṅ bskur, as usual.

[2] The usual meaning of seal does not seem appropriate here: it certainly means mark, sign.

[3] Perhaps here box is taken in the sense of measure.

[4] In the text sku mk'ar and lha k'aṅ are inverted.

6 rkyen, things pertaining to, peculiarities of:
dpa' ba heroes: leopard, guṅ, and tiger stag;
mi sṅar witty people: va žur, muzzle of a fox:
ya rabs, high rank people: lha c'os, doctrine of the gods (Buddhism);
gyuṅ po, folk: t'ags daṅ bon, weaving and Bon religion;
mdsaṅs pa, nobles: diplomas, yig ts'aṅs;
ṅan pa, wicked: theft rkun ma:

6 dpa' mts'an: symbols of a dpa'	stag stod	tiger (skin), upper part
	stag smad	lower part,
	zar c'en	gold brocade, big
	zar c'uṅ	gold brocade, small
	rgod ras	cotton cloth for the rgod, the military men
	stag slag	tiger-skin coat.

9 great Blon po:

1) higher dguṅ blon 2) middle dguṅ blon 3) lower dguṅ blon	like a husband they looked after external affairs
4-6) naṅ blon (higher, middle, lower)	like a wife they looked after home affairs
7-9) bka' yo gal ạc'os pa judges	they rewarded even the son of an enemy if he had behaved properly, but punished even their own son if he had behaved wrongly.

Ja p. 18 *a*

6 Bod k'os, institutions, administration [1]	three žaṅ along with the blon took hold of the assembly, (ạdun sa) of dBus; three dpa' sde protected the boundaries [2].

It is not my purpose to discuss here all the complicated problems which these passages suggest: as I said, I have dealt with them in the notes to my translation of PT: suffice it to say that from this document also we gather that Žaṅ žuṅ was divided into two parts, stod and smad, stod being the remotest, westernmost portion; the fact that in Žaṅ žuṅ smad, Lower Ž. ž. we find a country called Gug ge or Gug should not make us believe that this name is the equivalent of Guge and therefore identify Lower Žaṅ žuṅ with Guge, viz. with the south-western part of Western Tibet[1]. This is excluded by the mention of the Sumpas, between which and Bod, Žaṅ žuṅ smad is said to be: it was therefore bordering on the Sum pas the Supiya of the kharoṣṭhī documents[2] who, according to this catalogue, were considered to dwell between East Tibet and China, approximately in the rGyal roṅ region. Žaṅ žuṅ stod, on the other hand, or at least a part of it was bordering, as we saw, on the Gru gu[3] country viz. approximately the Lob-Niya region.

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[1] The meaning of k'os, mk'os, is to administrate a country, to appoint officers, to make a census, to register the population and its resources.

[2] See above p. 87.

It is clear that during the times of the Tibetan kings Žaṅ žuṅ designated a country much bigger than wes upposed: it covered not only all Western Tibet, but also Byaṅ t'aṅ up to Turkestan, as far as Khotan and the territory to the South of Shan Shan bordering to the East on the Sumpa, viz. reaching the Niachu. This is suggested not only by the very important catalogue preserved by PT, but also by other texts, which though their final redaction is late, certainly contain very old elements: I refer *e.g.* to a ritual influenced by Bon po ideas, in which Žaṅ žuṅ is recorded along with the Garlog (Qarluq) and the Grugu as a border land (TPS, p. 257, n. 151: Gru gu Žaṅ žuṅ Gar log sogs mt'a' ạk'ob yul gži bdag).

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[1] Names in Ku, Gu, Hu are very common in Central Asia: Khotan-Xuten, Kucha, Guchen, Guran.

[2] P. Pelliot, *TP*, XX, p. 330. L. Petech, *RSO*, XXII, p. 87-88; *TLI*, I, p. 78, 156 ff., Concile, p. 38, n. 3.

[3] L. Petech, *RSO*, XXII, pp. 87-88; T. Yamamoto, *Tōyō gahukō*, XXV, 1938, pp. 1-43.

It is also worthy of notice that to the North-East of the Tengri-nor there is a Shang shung pass (Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, Map. XV, C. 9). There is therefore evidence, which further research will certainly confirm, that before the Tibetan State reached its acme there was on the mountain plateau surrounding dBus and gTsaṅ, which were to be the core of the new kingdom, another State or Confederation of States ruling over the marches of the Tibetan Highland from Ladakh to the Drichu touching on the north the southern trade routes of Central Asia.

This does not necessarily imply that Žaṅ žuṅ originally was as extensive as this, because the catalogue of PT reflectes the situation at the time of the highest development of Tibetan power: it is quite possible that some of the new territories conquered in the north and north-east by the Tibetan generals were annexed, in the new military organization of the state, to Žaṅ žuṅ proper: which was then called Žaṅ žuṅ smad so as to distinguish it from the new districts forming Žaṅ žuṅ stod.

§ 12. – *Žaṅ žuṅ*, *Suvarṇabhūmi*, *Strīrājya*, *Cīnadeśa*. The great civilization of Asia knew very little of those countries; because Žaṅ žuṅ, a country of nomads and robbers, never rose to such a degree of cohesion as to form a real empire: but they did not completely ignore them. Some news of the vast, inaccessible land filtered through the barrier of mountains which surrounded Žaṅ žuṅ, and in spite of the legendary elements which always conceal peoples or things of which it is difficult to have direct knowledege, they show, as was to be expected, that those regions were not considered as a blank. It would be, indeed, surprising if the Indians had not been aware of the country near the Manasorovar and the Kailāsa, which still occupy so great a place in their religious ideas. I am inclined to think that Žaṅ žuṅ corresponds to Suvarṇabhūmi, Svarṇabhūmi, Suvarṇagotra of the Sanskrit sources: Hsüan–tsang locates Suvarṇagotra to the north of Brahmāpura which is situated near Baijnath in Kumaon, or, according to Goetz, in Chamba (*The early wooden temples of Chamba.* Memoirs of the Kern Institute n. 1, p. 74 ff. Leyden 1955). " The country is bounded on the north by the great Snowy Mountains in the midst of which is the land called Su–fa–la–na–k'iu–ta–lo (Suvarṇagotra). From this country comes a superior sort of gold, and hence the name. It extends from East to West, and contracts from north to south. It is the same as the country of the " Eastern women ". For ages a woman has been the ruler, and so it is called the *kingdom of the women.* The husband of the reigning woman is called king, but he knows nothing about the affairs of the State. The man manages the wars and sows the land, and that is all. The land produces winter wheat and much cattle, sheep, and horses. The climate is extremely cold (icy). The people are hasty and impetuous.

On the eastern side, this country is bordered by the Fan kingdom (Tibet), on the west by San–po–ho (Sampaha or Malasa?) on the north by Khotan". (Beal, *Siyuki*, *Buddhist Records of the Western World.* London, s.d., popular edition pp. 198-9; Watters, I, p. 330).

Therefore the boundaries of this country, as the Chinese pilgrim was able to gather from his informants, were, N. Khotan, E. Tibet, W. San po ho.

As regards Tibet, there is no difficulty; but when the Chinese pilgrim was in India (639-644) Žaṅ žuṅ had not yet been definitely conquered by the Tibetans, though it was certainly a kind of vassal state, which had to provide soldiers etc.[1]; nor is there any difficulty about Khotan.

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[1] TH, p. 29, 31-34.

San po ho is considered to be Sāmbi. But it is also called Mo lo so [1].

The special features, of that kingdom are therefore that it lies between mountains, it is located to the north of Brahmāpura, it produces winter wheat, and is rich in sheep and cattle, it has plenty of gold, and women enjoy greater authority than men: there is a king but in fact women reign: the country is therefore considered to be the same as the Strīrājya. I refer now more especially to the Inquiry of Vimalaprabhā translated by prof. F. W. Thomas in TLT, I, p. 137 ff.

Prof. Thomas is of opinion that the Gold-kingdom is in Nagar and he finds in the name of Nagar itself a confirmation of this view.

He refers to a passage of the "Inquiry" in which one of the previous incarnations of Vimalaprabhā is remembered: she was then a Rākṣasī called Hu ša who after alluring the merchants coming to the Gold mountain for their trade in gold, and enjoyed their company, killed them as soon as new merchants arrived. One of these merchants having once fled because he was made aware of the danger by his daughter (a bodhisattva) she ran after him in the form of an earless creature, as on account of some previous sin, the Devas had cut off her ears. But when she caught the fleeing merchants, their leader asked her "who could cut off your ears, since you are so strong?" In fulfilment of the decision of the gods she was liberated of that curse and resumed her original form. She then said "Because of ears the name of this country shall be Gold Race". This suggests that the name of the Gold country or race could be also understood as having some analogy wiht the word "ear" or better "ear-cut". Prof. Thomas finds this element in the name Nagar, in which he distinguishes an element variously spellt *gar*, *sgar*, *dkar*, very common in the toponomy of Western Tibet and surrounding countries, and another element *na*: this may be nothing else but Tib. rna, ear = skr. karṇa. But this etymology would seem more probable, Prof. Thomas adds, if the word nagar is connected not only with "ear" but also with "earless cat" as the Rākṣasī was. This earless cat cannot but be the marmot, which brings to mind the story of the gold-digging ants, located in that part of the world since the times of Herodotus (III, 102): but when we remember that in 717 A.D. the Chinese received from the king of Khotan "an animal of the species of na(k)" (Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 127) described in later dictionaries, in a rather puzzling way, as a cat-catcher (TLT, p. 168), one may surmise that this *na*(*k*) is nothing else but the marmot, mistaken for a mongoose, called in Sanskrit nakula and in Tibetan nehule. There may have been a Himalayan word for the marmot, *na* or *nak*, from which the Sanskrit nahula is derived: just as the word *pipīlika* for ant as well as for the gold collected by the ants may be derived from the Tibetan name for marmot, viz. p'yi or p'yi bi. Therefore Nagar may well be the "marmot place", which explains the story of the gold digging marmots (in India taken for big ants) and the etymology of the Inquiry concerning the ears.

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[1] Mo lo so 秣羅婆 (CUNNINGHAM, *Ancient Geography of India* ed. S. N. Majumdar, p. 164: Mar po yul. FRANCKE, *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 188-9: Mar sa) should be corrected in | | 娑 Mo lo p'o, its original being Mālava and the bordering countries; the Mālava are recorded as Himalayan tribes by Abhidharmavibhāṣā (*BEFEO*, 1905, p. 207) and Rāmāyaṇa (S. LÉVI, *Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyaṇa. JA*, 1918. Tome XI, p. 125). Cf. above p. 72, n. 1.

Prof. Thomas, who supposes that the ogress Huša was sometimes imagined in the form of a marmot (p. 169), finds support for his view in the story that the cause of her being punished by the Devas was that "she had become a cat" p'yi la p'yin pas; but I venture to disagree from my revered friend and I think that the sentence only means "she had gone outside", she had left the celestial world, as is often narrated of Gods in India or in Tibet. So no support remains for assimilating the ogress to the marmot.

The learned arguments of Prof. Thomas, which testify to his unrivalled mastery in the most complicated fields of oriental philology, seem so cogent that one hesitates before attempting to propose a different theory. But, as I have said. the translation of the above passage by eliminating any relation between the Rākṣasī and the marmot, renders the arguments now expounded less cogent; moreover it appears to me that there is an etymological play between the name of the country and the earless being and that it can be cleared only if we establish the precise correlation of the two terms in the reply of the Rākṣasī: because that etymological play is comprehensible only if both terms can be taken by the reader as analogous or similar. The fundamental terms are " Gold-(race) " and " ear " or " ear-cut ": if I am not wrong Prof. Thomas worked only on one element of the riddle, " ear ", but I venture to say that the other element, its counterpart, " gold ", remains unexplained.

The sentence of the Inquiry in question has a meaning only if we suppose in the original a word which can be connected at the same time with ear and with gold. In other words we require a name which could be taken as meaning at the same time gold and ear or ear-cut. Nothing unfortunately can be said as regards the original language in which the Inquiry was written: though most probably it was Sanskrit (this is also the opinion of Thomas, TLT, I, p. 125) or Prakrit.

We must look therefore for some sanskrit or prakrit word which could explain that etymology. Prakrit savaṇa for ear and soṇṇa, for gold, give ground enough for the etymological speculations of the pandits who are, we know, much inclined to such fanciful comparisons: I refer, as an example to the etymology of pudgala or āyatana in Buddhism, Āyam, vijñānam, tanvantīty āyatanāni; pudgala " because it clings to a new form of existence " and so on. One may also think of a pun based on kāñcana, gold (Khotanese kāṃjana) taken in its proper meaning and assumed also to signify ear-cut kaṇṇa, kān, ear and cchinna cut.

Thus, many of the arguments in favour of Survaṇabhūmi =Nagar lose their force. Now, let us pass to the other essential characteristic of Suvarṇabhūmi: it was the land of gold. That Western Tibet—and when we say Western Tibet, we cannot specify its extension during the times of which we are speaking, because we do not know, for instance, its relation to Ladakh and Zanskar, which were probably under its control—was rich in gold is a well ascertained fact. It was there, or in its immediate proximity, or in some of its provinces, that the legend of the gold-ants was localized.

A king of Ladakh assigns to one of his sons the gold mines of ạGog near Rudok. (Francke, *Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 44). The gold mines of Thokjalung are famous; the gold fields of Manasarovar and Kailāsa are equally known (G. Tucci, *Santi e Briganti*, p. 61); the territory near Byi'u gompa, near the Manasarovar, is called gSer ka, Ch. A. Sherring, *Western Tibet*, pp. 140, 156, 157, *Journ. R. Geogr. Soc.*, XIV, 210, XXXVIII, 174. Cf. Fr. Schiern, *The Tradition of the gold-digging ants*, Ind. Antiquary, vol. IV, 1875, p. 224; B. Laufer, *Die Sage der Goldgrabenden Amaisen*, *TP*, vol. IX, 1908, p. 429 locates the legend in the Altai, Shiraigol.

When we read in the Inquiry that under the threat of the Tibetan invasion the kings of Li (Khotan) take shelter in the Gold-race country and try to get from it the gold needed for their ransom, we cannot fail to remember the story of the invasion of Žaṅ žuṅ by the Qarluqs and the gold they requested for the ransom of the King Ye šes 'od. It is true that once we read in the Inquiry that Vijayavarman boasted that he belonged to the Gold-race: but the text of the Inquiry has been transmitted in such a bad condition that this one reference creates no serious difficulty: it may also be an allusion to one of his many incarnations, or to his marrying a queen of the Women-kingdom. Moreover, as has been well established by Thomas, there is no doubt that Khotan and Skardo, on the one hand, and the Gold-country on the other, where this prince takes shelter when the Tibetan invasion approaches, are distinct countries, though on friendly terms.

For all these reasons I think that we must go back to the old views, such as those expounded by Lassen (IAK, p. 1023), and locate in Western Tibet the gold country, Suvarṇabhūmi and its ruling family, Suvarṇagotra. It is there indeed that the Mahābhārata, II, 28, 1040-42 near the Mānasa, places Hāṭaka, the country of gold. According to the Smṛtyupasthāna that is the country of the Kirāta or Krita (S. Lévi, *Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyaṇa*, *JA*, 1918, p. 19 [1]) mentioned also in our catalogues, but, according to Mbh., its guardians are the Gūhyaha, the attendants of Kubera, the god of wealth.

On the other hand, I do not know that Hunza-Nagar was ever known as a country as rich in gold as Western Tibet. Before concluding with the Inquiry I want to add as regards the Rākṣasī Hu ša [2], that this Rākṣasī, who returns to her former condition of a goddess, is imagined as dressed in a short shirt (žab ma) made of the hair of wild animals (yi dvags) with her hair tied up on her head. This last description reminds us of the goddess Ekajaṭā, later assimilited with Tārā. She also takes her name from the hair tied up on her head and is covered with a tiger skin. Indian tradition tells us that this goddess was accepted into the Buddhist pantheon from Cīna. The siddha responsible for that introduction was the Siddhanāgārjuna who got the sādhana of the goddess among the Bhoṭa (Sādhanamālā, N. 127, p. 287), just as Vasiṣṭha is advised by the Buddha to go to Mahācīna, Cīnabhūmi in order to get from there the siddhi (Rudrayāmala, ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1892, p. 149).

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[1] Though the Kirāta are also placed in the East, there is no doubt that the Western Himalayas are their home: many authorities in RÖNNOV, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 96, 98-9, 100, 113 ff.

[2] It is interesting to note that in the Jayadrathayāmala one of the Lāmās is called Hisā: but the reading seems doubtful, P. C. BAGCHI, *Studies in she Tantras*, part. I, p. 52.

It was there, according to the Saṃmohatantra on a lake called Chola (mts'o ?) on the Western side of the Meru, that Nīlogratārā was born (Bagchi, *Tantric Studies*, University of Calcutta, 1939, p. 46, and *IHQ*, VII, 1931, p. 1).

It is also most probable that from those transhimalayan countries the Lāmākrama (where Lāmā is a trascription into Sanskrit of the Tibetan word: Lha mo) originated: because their people, chiefly women, were considered by Tantric teachers as greatly experienced in magic, so that it was commonly accepted that it was there the Mahācīnakrama had its origin (G. Tucci, *Animadversiones Indicae*, *JASB*, 1903, p. 155, P. Ch. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 41 f. and p. 45 ff. TPS, p. 215).

Moreover, there is another Chinese source which confirms my opinion that Suvarṇagotra is in Western Tibet and that it cannot be located in Hunza-Nagar. I refer to the diary of another Chinese pilgrim, viz. Huei Ch'ao (W. Fuchs, *Huei–ch'ao's Pilgerreise durch Nordwest-Indien und Zentral-Asien*, Sitzb. phil.-hist. Klasse, Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch. 1938, p. 418). Huei Ch'ao also speaks of Suvarṇagotra as a small kingdom under the Tibetans: it is reached from Jālandhara in one month's journey; viz. the same distance as from Ṭakka to Sindh Gurjjarā. That Suvarṇagotra cannot be Nagar is to my mind proved by the fact that access to Nagar can hardly be had through Jālandhara: the easy approach, and therefore the trade-route to Nagar, is through Kashmir. On the other hand, Jālandhara is relatively near to Western Tibet.

From there one reaches the Bias river, crosses the Rotang La, and through Spiti enters W. Tibet: another route is through the Sutlej and proceeds up to the Shipki pass. There is no reason why such a distant country as Nagar should be heard of in Jālandhara, or be in trade relations with it.

On the other hand, when Huei Ch'ao reaches Kashmir he tells us about great and small Bolor, two countries very near to Nagar; but on that occasion there is no mention of of Suvarṇagotra. This could hardly be explained if Suvarṇagotra was in Hunza-Nagar.

We are led to this same conclusion by the passage of T'ang shu, translated by Chavannes, *Doc.*, p. 121, for Chu-chü-po is there said to be one thousand miles to the West of Khotan and three thousand miles to the north of the kingdom of Women. This means that between that place and Strīrājya - Suvarṇagotra there was a distance three times greater than from it to Khotan. This passage excludes Sarikol or Hunza which would be much nearer, and points again to Western Tibet.

Nor can we object that in some Buddhist texts, most probably elaborated in Central Asia, Suvarṇagotra is mentioned along with Uḍḍiyāna (S. Lévi, *Notes Chinoises sur l'Inde*, *BEFEO*, V, pp. 11, 22, 31, 37) Śūlīka etc. (but at p. 32 from Tathāgataguhyaka after Banaras there is a country called Gold-root). In fact we have seen that Žaṅ žuṅ was in older times a rather big country covering Changthang, reaching Turkestan, and perhaps controlling Ladakh and the adjoining States.

The equation Suvarṇabhūmi, 124,5, 169,1, Suvarṇagotra = Strīrājya seems to lead us to the same conclusions. It is true that there are two kingdoms of women in Central Asia (though many more are recorded in Chinese Literature (P. Pelliot in *TP*, 1912, p. 357, n. 4, Lévi, *Alexander and Alexandria in Indian Literature*, *IHQ*, XII, 1956, p. 132, W. Eberhard, *Lokal Kulturen im Alten China*, I,

p. 278) but the one with which we are here concerned is not unknown to Indian literature and is located in the trans-Himalayan countries: Strīrājya is known to Mbh., III, 51, 1991, XII, 4, 114, it lies between Hūna and Taṅgana.

Elswhere it is mentioned along with Cīna, Tukhāra, Kulūta (Mbh., III, 51, 1991, XII, 4, 114).

Strīrājya is known also to Varāhamihira, Bṛhatsaṃhitā, Chapt. XVI v. 6, as noted by Kern (in his translation of the same work *Verpreide Geschriften*, I, p. 240) and suggested by Bhaṭṭopala in his comm. (Vizianagam Sanskrit Series, vol. I, p. 308) following Kāśyapa who writes:

Parvatā Jaladurgaś ca Kosalās Taṅganā Hālā |
Strīrājyaṃ Bharukacchaś ca Tuṣārā Vanavāsinaḥ |

No specific location is given, but from some of the names of the other people mentioned, and from the other references, it would appear that Kāśyapa placed the Strīrājya in the North-West of India. No geographical indication can be drawn from Rājataraṅginī, IV-173-74 and 185 when the conquests of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa are recorded. (Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājatarangini*, *A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, vol. I, p. 138).

The fact that many kingdoms of women were known, caused a certain confusion, all the more so as some of them were purely fantastic. It is not my purpose to discuss on this occasion the very complex problem; I just want to say that the mention of *Nü kuo* of the East of the P'ei shih (Pe na pen, edition, 97, f. 27 *a*, *b*) reproduced in Sui shu, 83, f. 10 *a*, *b* (cf. also Chiu T'ang shu 197, ff. 5 *a*, 6 *b*, T'ai p'ing yü lan 796, 5 *a*, Tung Tien 1043 *c*) already presupposes this confusion between the Su pi of the East and the Nü Kuo of the West. As a matter of fact that text was concerned with the Western Nü kuo (resumé in Bushell, p. 531, note 42); this is proved by the fact that a Nü kuo is located to the South of the Ts'ung ling mountains (omitted in Bushell) which would be impossible if the Eastern country of Women were concerned, and by the allusion to the trade of salt with India: mineral salt is even nowadays one of the largest products of Eastern Ladakh and Western Tibet, traded with Kashmir, Nepal and the Simla and Almora hills. The text mentions as products of the very cold country: horses, musks and yaks, gold-dust, cinnabar and copper; polyandry is referred to. The palace of the queen is nine stories high (nine, as known, is a sacred number whith the Bon po, whose religion, according to tradition, was codified in these parts). The husband of the queen is called Kin ch'ü 金 聚 " gold-accumulation ".

These characteristics point again to Western Tibet and its neighbouring countries, where P. Pelliot also was inclined to locate Suvarṇagotra Strīrājya, identifying with this Nü kuo the Si li 悉 立 recorded by the Fa yüan chu lin as being near Kiu lu ta (Kuluta) (*TP*, 1912, p. 357, n. 4); he explains that name-old pronunciation Sit (Sir)-lip (lap)-as = Tib. gser rabs gold-race: but the original of Sili is not necessarily Tibetan.

These names Suvarṇabhūmi, Suvarṇagotra, Strīrājya are derived from some peculiarity of the country to which they refer, and are left in that vagueness which is the common characteristic of the information given by Indian geographical literature concerning the border lands; the name Strīrājya may be suggested by the autority the women in that country were supposed to exercice, as they still do in most parts of Tibet; Suvarṇabhūmi refers to the gold mines of which the country is very rich. But most probably the geographical name was Cīna, (quite different, of course from Cīna = China) a fact already acknowledged by many scholars [1] and now made certain by our inscription referring to the Western Tibetan country as Cīna, the country that Varahanihira quotes alongside with the Kirāta, Kauṇinda, Khasa (Bṛhatsaṃhitā, XIV, 29) the country which the Tantratattva includes in Bhāratavarṣa, immediately before Nepal [2] and Kashmir (Cīna, Mahācīna, Nepāla, Kāśmira; Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, p. 129), the country which Arjuna, according to Bhāṇa (Harṣacarita, ed. P. V. Kane, vol. 2, p. 59) had to cross before reaching that Hemakūṭa, the golden mountain, which he wants to subdue, that country also, which from the times of Mbh., II, 26, 987, 584, XII, 65, 2429 and *Milindapañha*, p. 327, 331 is quoted along with the Chilāta, Kirāta (in the text Vilāta, false reading for Chilāta, S. Lévi, *Ptolomée, le Niddesa et la Bṛhatkathā, Études Asiatiques*, Paris 1925, p. 24, cf. *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, pp. 7-35), an Himalayan people divided into various groups (Rönnow, *op. cit.* and S. K. Chatterjee, *Kirāta-janakīrti, The Indo-Mongoloids, RASB*, 1951 [3]), or along with the Hūnas Mbh., XII, 326, 12229, or Hārahūna, Mbh., III, 51, 1990.

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[1] S. Lévi, *Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyaṇa, JA*, 1918, Tome XI, p. 118; country of the Pamirs with the Khàsa: *ibid.* p. 126 Cīna and Aparacīna countries to the north of the Himālaya, Serindia and China. Cf. Id., *Maitreya le Consolateur*, in: *Études d'orientalisme à la Mémoire de R. Linossier*, Paris 1932, p. 356.

[2] The "Jaina" of Bhāvaprakāśana by Śaradātanaya, *GOS*, XLV, p. 310: Nepālajainabāhlikā must be corrected into Cīna, Caina.

[3] The Catalogue of the mss. in the Indian Office by Eggeling p. IV, n. 2563 pp. 873-876, analysing the Mahācīnakramacāra, states that the rituals implied the use of some twigs of Mahācīnadruma, the tree of Mahācīna: it would be interesting to collect some information on this tree because one cannot but recollect the great importance that the šug pa, the juniper tree enjoyed in the Bon po ritual. S. Lévi referring to this passage, *IHQ*, XII, p. 208, thinks that Chinese (Mahācīna) and Central Asia (Cīna) cultures had strongly influenced the birth of Tantric literature. But one should remember that the Mahācīnakrama is chiefly connected with worship of deities in female form, and indulges in sexual symbolism which is so repulsive to the Chinese that when they translated Tantric works they often omitted or changed the passages which seemed objectionable to their moral sense. The Mahācīnakrama, Cīnakrama would rather point, as its center of origin, to places where

(Bṛhatsaṃhitā, XI, 61: Śvetahūna, XVI, 28-39 cf. Bailey, *Hārahūṇa*, in *Asiatica*, Festchrift Fr. Weller, p. 12 ff.).

I must add here that it is highly probable that Žaṅ žuṅ included also the country of Yang t'ung 羊 同 or that this was its part: Yang t'ung was located to the east as well as to the West of Tibet viz. little Yang t'ung and great Yang t'ung. The great Yang t'ung were to the south of Khotan and their country extended from West to East for about 1000 *li*, and was ruled by four ministers. They were subjugated by the Tibetans about 679. Other sources of the IX century place them clearly in the East. All these facts have been summarized by Demiéville (Concile, p. 28 ff.); they show that there was to the south of Khotan an extensive country long more than large, just as Suvarṇagotra is said to have been: it split, perhaps on account of the Tibetan wars and a division imposed by them into two parts one in the East and one in the west just as we find a Žaṅ žuṅ stod and a Žaṅ žuṅ smad. We also know that the famous clan Mu lu (*ibid.*, p. 26) = Bro originated from the Yang t'ung and we infer from the catalogue of PT that the Bro clan was in gTsaṅ viz. a country bordering Western Tibet and Byaṅ t'aṅ: its members were dpon of the 5 sde of Gug and C'og in Žaṅ žuṅ.

All these facts adds weight to the view of Prof. Thomas who proposed to identify Yang t'ung with Byaṅ t'aṅ (though phonetically the equation is impossible).

an extreme sexual symbolism is normal: these elements are to be found among the Himalayan tribes and also in Tibet.

To give an example, some of the rituals recommended by the Mahācīnakrama (chapter 21 of Śaktisaṃgamatantra, vol. II, *GOS*, XLI, p. 104; it is quoted, along with Svacchandabhairava, Siddhāntasaṃgraha etc. as a fundamental book on the Mahācīnakrama by the Puraścaryārṇava of Pratapasinha Shah, Banaras 1904, p. 843) are sexual practices, such as no need of bathing, the use of wine, long hair besmeared with oil, the position for greating is to remain kneeling, placing the forehead on the ground, the use of rosaries made of the bones of cows, men, elephants etc. Some of these customs are followed by the Tibetans. Mahācīna does not seem to be here necessarily connected whith the country of Mahācīna: it is a method "the big method of Cīna"; the text distinguishes five methods brahmacīna, divyacīna, vīracīna, mahācīna, niskalacīna.

The conclusion of this long, though preliminary discussion to which the inscription of Dullu has given rise and to which the passage of PT has contributed with new arguments, is that Žaṅ žuṅ was a big State (or rather confederation of tribes?) before the foundation of the Tibetan Empire, but destined to succumb when that empire started its expansion. Žaṅ žuṅ bordered on the Indian Himalayas, controlled most probably Ladakh, stretched as far as Baltistan and Khotan, and extended its control over the highlands of Changthang in a word covered West, North and north-eastern Tibet. Its southern provinces were vaguely known to India as Suvarṇabhūmi, Strīrājya and chiefly as Cīna, when it passed under the control of the rising power of the Tibetans.

Unlike the Sum pa's district, Žaṅ žuṅ was not a ru, a banner; it became an integral part of the Tibetan state during the times of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan, when it was annexed.

§ 13. – *Survey of the history of western Tibet.* Fomerly Žaṅ žuṅ was ruled by a Lig dynasty; its events are partly recorded in TH chronicles. At the time of Sroṅ btsan sgam po, 644 A.D., Lig sña šur revolted.

Sroṅ btsan sgam po submitted all Žaṅ žuṅ and became master of it.[1] (cf. the story of Zu tse TLT, II, p. 54 ff.[2]).

year 653 Spug gyim rtsan rma c'uṅ is appointed to govern it
662 sToṅ rtsan makes the settlement of (mk'os) Žaṅ žuṅ
675 bTsan sña makes the settlement of (mk'os) Žaṅ žuṅ

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[1] This conquest became necessary when the Tibetan expansion towards Central Asia started: Sroṅ btsan sgam po wanted to control Changthang and Western Tibet before starting his campaigns.

[2] For the reasons here stated To yo chas la, said to be in northern Žaṅ žuṅ, cannot be identified with Do yo in Purang as proposed by THOMAS, TLT, II, p. 55.

677 Žaṅ žuṅ rebels

719 the census (p’a los) of Žaṅ žuṅ was ordered

724 the minister sTa gu ri tsab makes the settlement (mk’os) of Žaṅ žuṅ; in TH, p. 83 the king of Žaṅ žuṅ and his two ministers are recorded:

Lig sÑa šur, king:
K’yuṅ po ra saṅs rje }
sToṅ lom ma ce. } ministers.

In TH, p. 155 ff. the story is told of the marriage of Sad mar kar, daughter of K’ri sroṅ lde btsan, to the king of Žaṅ žuṅ, Lig Myi rhya as a result of the alliance between Žaṅ žuṅ and Tibet, and of the unhappiness of this queen in Žaṅ žuṅ, the campaign of K’ri sroṅ lde btsan against Žaṅ žuṅ, the elimination of Lig Myi rhya and the definite submission of Žaṅ žuṅ are recorded. This implies that up to that time Žaṅ žuṅ was in a state of vassallage but had not completely lost at least nominally its independence.

When that happened Žaṅ žuṅ was divided for military purposes into ten chiliarchies, stoṅ sde (four stoṅ sde and one stoṅ bu c’uṅ in upper Žaṅ žuṅ and four stoṅ sde and one stoṅ bu c’uṅ in Lower Žaṅ žuṅ see above p. 83). Another name for the two parts was inner and outer Žaṅ žuṅ. It never recovered.

When a Tibetan dynasty took control of the country, it had lost most of its northern and north-western provinces: the Qarluq greatly contributed to weakening and dissolving the state [1]: independent chiefs took control of Byaṅ t’aṅ. Then the Pāla family first and afterwards Nāgarāja and his successors conquered the country and controlled it along with western Nepal up to the 14th century, when some local family rose again to power: to succumb later to Seṅ ge rnam rgyal, king of Ladak, (in 1630) and then to be included in the Tibetan state after the Tibetan-Ladakhi war (1683).

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[1] H. Hoffmann, *Die Qarluq in der Tibetischen Literatur*, Oriens, vol. III, 1950, n. 2, p. 190 ff.

Žaṅ žuṅ had its own language of which documents have been found in Central Asia; only at a later time after the Tibetan conquest Žaṅ žuṅ language gave way to Tibetan which slowly but definitely superseded and cancelled it. This is a fact acknowledged also by some Tibetan sources (Bon rgyal rabs, p. 24, *b*).

Let us now discuss the other problem, that of the capital; we read in our inscription that Nāgarāja established his capital in Seṃjā: according to the Tib. sources (PT, GR, SP) it was bTsan p'yug lde the successor of Nāgadeva who went to Ya tse: the fact was so important that it is recorded in the Tib. chronicles: at that time there was a change of the capital of Žaṅ žuṅ, Guge. Seṃjā appears also in the tāmrapatra of Shituska as the capital of Pṛthvīmalla. Where should this town be located? In TPS, I proposed to identify Ya tse with Taklakot, capital of Purang. But it appears unquestionably from these texts that Ya tse, Seṃjā are one and the same place, the capital of the Malla dynasty, but Seṃjā is certainly not Taklakot.

It is a well established fact that for sometime the capital of Guge was Tsaparang which to day also is the seat of a rdsoṅ dpon: it was so at the times of D'Andrade [1]. But we cannot be certain that this had always been the case; at the times of the Lig dinasty, when Žaṅ žuṅ was independent, its capital was K'yuṅ luṅ dṅul dkar. (cf. TH, p. 116, l. 8 where we should read K'yuṅ luṅ dṅul dkar for: K'yuṅ luṅ rdul dkar). We have no reason to distrust the historical tradition of Tibet according to which

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[1] G. M. Toscano, *La prima missione cattolica nel Tibet*, Istituto Missioni Estere, Parma, s. d., p. 63.

Toling was built under advice of Rin c'en bzaṅ po, by the early kings of Guge; being the chief temple of the kingdom, it could not presumably have been very far from the capital; as a matter of fact Tsaparang and Toling are near. But we cannot argue that Tsaparang was also the capital of Western Tibet under the new dynasty, started by Nāgadeva. With him the lDe family was outsted or made a vassal family: the capital was shifted from Tsaparang to a place nearer to the country whence the conquerors had come. The establishment of the new capital was so important that it is recorded in the inscription as well as in the Tib. chronicles; it was a great change. Then, at a later time, when the Malla dynasty came to an end, most probably after Pṛthvīmalla, the old family of Guge or some other local family profitted by the situation to return again to power and was reinstated in the old capital Tsaparang. In fact, the kings who came after the Mallas belonged certainly to the local aristocracy and prefixed their names by the word K'ri as the old Tibetan kings had done [1]. It is also possible that Tsaparang remained the capital of Western Tibet under the local rulers, reduced to the condition of vassals, and that Seṃjā was the capital of the Malla Empire, including both the provinces to the North and to the South of the Himalaya. All these facts seem to force us to the conclusion that, at a certain period, about the 11th century, two aryan-speaking tribes broke into Western Tibet. The one took control of Purang and the other of Guge: that of Guge came to an end with Pratāpamalla and was succeded by the Purang family which then took the name of Malla unifying the dominions of the two families. I am inclined to believe that the appearance of Utpala, king of Ladakh, should be viewed in the same light: he also, as a bearer of a Sanskrit name, comes suddenly into the history of that country and according to the tradition, which we have now no means to control, he was the author of the emancipation of Ladakh from Guge of which the former had been a vassal state. We do not know whether his family adapted itself to the new surroundings so as to be completely Tibetanized (as the invaders of Guge seem to have done) or if after Utpala the old rulers of Ladakh ousted the new comers. One fact seems certain to me, that about the 11th century there was unrest among the Himalayan tribes, and that some groups crossed into Western Tibet and there founded new principalities, going so far as to Tibetanize their habits and names.

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[1] Also the Purang rulers were called K'ri: see above p. 64.

As to what these invaders from the South Himalaya countries were, we can safely state that they were, as we saw and they themselves state, Khasa, who as a war-like aristocracy controlled a fluctuating mass of other tribes, those K'ri ta (Kirāta) or Mon to which the old Tibetan chronicles make allusions.

Let it be as it may, it appears that the Mallas reached the height of their power under Pṛthivīmalla who ruled over a great kingdom which included Guge, Purang and the Nepalese territories as far as Dullu to the SW, Kaskīkot to the East (as we gather from the kanakapatra of Shituska, p. 113; but there the reading is Kaskot).

§ 14. – *Pṛthvīmalla.* Was Pṛthvīmalla a buddhist or a hindu? There is no doubt that his family must have been Buddhist: there is no record of any apostasy or heresy of the Mallas, as rulers of Guge in the Tibetan chronicles. His inscriptions bear always the Buddhist symbol of the stūpa and start with the Buddhist mantra. But after the extension of the kingdom to the south and the increased contacts with India which according o the Tibetan sources were undertaken by his ancestor Ripumalla, and the slow but constant penetration of Hinduism, the hinduization of his court, and consequently of the upper clases, was in progress.

A great difference is noticeable between the praśasti of Dullu and the kanakapatra of Shituska (p. 113): while in the praśasti Buddhism predominates with its symbols, mantras and perhaps invocations, the kanakapatra is fundamentally hindu. In Pṛthvīmalla's seal on the kanakapatra of Jumla there are the symbols of a padma and a śaṅkha; his two wives are compared to Bhūmi and Śrī of Viṣṇu; he is praised as an avatāra of Viṣṇu; in the Dullu stele the bhikṣus come first in the list of those exempted from taxes, but in the kanakapatra the court poet invokes Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha. This can be explained more than by a change in the faith of the rulers by the different public to which the documents were addressed and the different entourage: the kanapatra was not a mere genealogy and glorification of the royal family but a donation interesting a part of the country which had already become prevalently hindu.

Most probably, though he could not forget that his was the throne of the c'os rgyal of Guge and that the most vital part of his kingdom was Western Tibet, his religious policy was a wise adaptation to the beliefs dominant in the various provinces of his dominions.

In all those parts where his name is found there are many stone temples and stūpas which have no continuation. They are the evident signs of a period of great prosperity and certainly of a liberal patronage: but they are too many, and so widely scattered over the country that it is difficult to believe that they were all built at the same time. It appears to me that Pṛthvīmalla, after Nāgadeva, the ancestor, and Ripumalla whose conquests in India are recorded by Tibetan sources, is the most conspicuous scion of a family which ruled both over what is now Western Nepal and Western Tibet. We do not know anything of the organization of the state but it seems almost certain that it was based on a feudal system, the members of the local aristocracy being turned into officials of his kingdom.

Political unity resulted in economic unity, because the two countries, that to the north of the Himalayas and that to the south, were economically strictly connected. The kingdom of Guge, as we learn from D'Andrade, drew large resources from its trade with India: even now-a-days, Taklakot and Gyanima are very important trade centers. Western Tibet produces and exchanges salt, skins, borax, probably in older times gold, woollen cloth: on the other hand it imports all sorts of commodities from India: utensils, clothes etc. But the Tibetans did not descend down the valleys: they do not like the hot climate. The trade was chiefly in the hands of the hill tribes, acting as intermediaries and as porters on tracks rarely practicable to horses.

The political unity under the Mallas certainly benefitted both Western Tibet and Western Nepal, and made the exchanges with the bordering countries easier and more profitable. It is a fact that unlike what one finds in other parts of Nepal, the road beyond Jumla up to Dullu (and I am told also to Tanakpur) is generally something better than a dangerous track: in some parts it is very wide and easy; there are also bridges which are regularly repaired by the villagers; this road was called by some of my informants rāj-mārg a royal road: it is along it that I found the inscription in praise of Pṛthvīmalla (see above p. 43); it is along it that there rise the stone pillars. It is to be surmised that at the time of the Mallas the roads were much better looked after than at present; horses bred in Jumla, and which made this place renowned, must have been more common than now; we see their figure engraved on many pillars along the road. The trade did not suffer those limitations and difficulties which certainly arose when the kingdom collapsed and from its ruins many small states emerged, jealous of one another and not always on good termes.

Pṛthvīmalla had a great dream and did his best to realize it; but it seems that somewhere he met with a disaster. The Tibetan chronicles stop with him: no inscription of any of his successors has yet been found. But without anticipating what new researches and new documents may one day bring to light, I venture to suggest that with Pṛthvīmalla the kingdom which his forefathers had started and he had greatly extended, crumbled to pieces, and so the feudal chiefs whom he had subdued but left in charge of their possessions reconquered their freedom: the country was split again into small states too poor to claim with some fortune his succession and, as often happened in India, fighting one against the other. There is no doubt that his conquests extended very far, coming near to the Valley of Nepal. From the kanakapatra which I discovered in Jumla, but in the possession of a brahmin of Sijā now in Shituska, it appears that his domains reached Kaskīkot, a place now in ruins on a ridge overlooking, to the northwest, on the Pokhara valley. The fact remains, as I have said, that for reasons which we are not now in a condition to ascertain, perhaps on account of some unfortunate expedition and the consequent rebellion of the feudatory chiefs in Tibet and in Nepal, for the impact of new invasions from the west and the south, the Malla kingdom, came, with Pṛthvīmalla, to an end.

§ 15. – *Seṃjā, Ya ts'e.* We have not yet solved the location of a Ya ts'e, Ya tse, Seṃjā. That this was the capital of the Mallas is proved not only by the inscription of Dullu, and the Tibetan Chronicles referred to above, but also by the kanakapatra from Sijā a village, a few miles to the North-West of Jumla (Fig. 21). This gilded kanakapatra was said to be in possession of a Brahmin; with the kind assistance of the acting Boro Hakim of Jumla I sent a man to get the document. It was in my hands for a little while and so I had the opportunity to photograph it. It is dated Śrīśāka 1298 (= A.D. 1376); it was written in Seṃjānagara. The beginning and the end of the kanakapatra are in sanskrit, the central portion in parvatiyā.

The Sanskrit portion is written in the most artificial Sanskrit by a poet, probably a court poet, in the style of the campukāvya. It opens with a very flowery and redundant description of the town of Seṃjā, śrīmati Seṃjānagare, and it praises with very emphatic eulogy King Pṛthvīmalla.

Then in parvatiyā the donation of some lands and privileges is proclamed; (mention of Āditya Malla rāi, Puṇyamalla rāi, Tārā dei gosāinī is made). The donation was made in the king's birthday; the order is notified to the adhikārins and other officials of Jumlā, Dullu, Kudvanā, Palātārā, Kaskot. The order was issued in two copies one of which was given to Gohnu Joisi who was appointed to enjoin its contents.

It ends with the usual reference to the duty of the king, to dharma and the code of moral law recomended by Hinduism. The pandit who composed the Sanskrit text was Śivadeva.

The inscription is of evident Hindu inspiration.

To witness that the order of the king is not transgressed, the sun, the moon, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, Buddha the Dharma and the Saṃgha are called on. This shows that the king, though giving precedence to the Hindu gods, did not forget Buddhism: but anyhow, as I said, the accent is strongly Hindu.

The similarity of the names of Seṃjā and Sijā makes me certain that the latter place should be identified with the old capital of the Mallas: and therefore with Ya ts'e, Ya tse, Ya rtse of the Tibetans. It is true that the ạDsam bu gliṅ rgyas bšad identifies Ya ts'e with

Taklakot but this may be due to a misunderstanding or to the fact that when that book was written, at the end of the 18th century, when mÑa' ris had become the remotest corner of Tibet and Taklakot was nothing more than a frontier market, Ya tse of the old sources had been identified with that city in Purang. But that originally Ya tse could not be Taklakot seems proved by the fact that Taklakot is in Purang while it is ascertained from the inscription and the old sources that Seṃjā–Ya tse was the city where Nāgarāja or his successor had transfered the capital of their kingdom, and where consequently Puṇyamalla came leaving his ancestral home in Purang, when the family of Nāgarāja become extinct. To conclude I like to quote another document which indirectly proves that the identification Ya tse–Seṃjā is right. It is a letter sent by Kun dga' bzaṅ po to a king of Ya tse. This letter is preserved in vol. *A* of the complete works p. 349 *a* of that lama and it is directed to the king of Ya tse (Ya ts'e) Ha sti rā ja (ya tse pa rgyal po ha sti rā ja), to his eldest son A hru rā ja and to the chief queen (btsun mo dam pa) Dsa gad smal. Kung dga' bzaṅ po sends his thanks for the presents he had received (things to eat žal zas, a chair gdan, a prabhāmaṇḍala rgyab yol for the images and some robes c'os sgos). He gives the king some instructions, and recommends him to avoid in every way, as if they were poison, the doctrines of the worshippers of Hindu gods such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Indra, of the heretics as well as those of the Mohamedans.

ts'aṅs daṅ k'yab ạjug dbaṅ p'yug sogs daṅ|
mu stegs byed daṅ kla kloi c'os lugs rnams|
rnam pa kun du dug bžin spoṅ bar mdsod|

Moreover he adds that all sorts of pūjā which prescribed the killing of animals be they birds or goats should be equally avoid-ed because they are cause of a great sin, which causes rebirth in the hells (ṅan soṅ).

Then he advises the king to follow the example of the former great c'os rgyal of Ya ts'ei (instead of Ya tse used before) – who used to contribute to the embellishment of the Sa skya monastery: would it not be good to repair all these previous gifts to Sa skya which are now collapsing? Then he goes on recommending charity towards the monks, dge sloṅ, the Brahmins (bram ze), the poor, the sick etc. A much shorter letter with brief advice is also sent to the Ya ts'e blon po, the minister of Ya ts'e A ya dbaṅ p'yug, who had sent him a bronze vase and some medicines.

It is clear that the ruler of Ya ts'e, Ya tse was a petty chief who could not compete with the c'os rgyal of former times; those had sent to Sa skya precious gifts, gold and silver for enlarging the temples but the new rulers are presenting Kun dga' bzaṅ po with modest gifts; moreover this ruler is no longer a Malla: perhaps a Malla(devī)[1] was his wife. What is far more important, there is no trace of his being a buddhist; in his small kingdom hinduism had many followers, sacrifices of chicken (still in use in Nepal) and goats were practised; brahmins were so important in Ya tse that, in spite of the instructions concerning the hindu sacrifices, Kun dga' bzaṅ po, thinks it necessary not to forget them as recipients of the royal charity. All these facts point to a country greatly hinduized: such as Seṃjā, or Jumla might be, but could not be understood if referred to Taklakot which is and, to our knowledge, always was Lamaistic.

Therefore the Hastirāja must be one of the kings who after the collapse of the Mallas ruled over their ancient capital Seṃjā and the neighboring countries (Jumla): one may also suppose thait he is the same as Nāgarāja (nāga = hasti of Doc. C.

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[1] Or: Jaganmālā? Cf. the names of the wives of Pṛthvīmalla, p. 50.

For all these reasons it seems to me that Ya tse cannot be identified with Taklakot and that the analogy Seṃjā = Sijjā, Sijā, cannot be dismissed. All the more so when we take into consideration that Sijā, Sijjā after the Mallas, enjoyed, at least for a certain period, a paramount importance in the Jumla district and was the seat of a dynasty which came immediately after the Mallas. The establishment of the capital in Ya ts'e, Seṃjā, was considered a very important event in the history of the kingdom since it was recorded, as we saw, not only in the inscription of Dullu but also in the Tibetan chronicles. This locality Seṃjā, Sijjā, is not marked on the map of Nepal one inch = 8 miles of 1928, but to the north-west of Jumla there is marked a river Sinjakholā which unmistakably points to Sijjā, Siṃjā, Seṃjā: on the same map, second edition, and on the map XIII of Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, Simjā is marked to the north-west of Jumla. It was a well placed town between the Sinja river, the Karnali and the Mūgū, at the junction of many roads leading to the passes through the Himalayas into Tibet and therefore well connected with the Tibetan territories conquered by Nāgarāja and his successors.

§ 16. – *Minor chronicles or documents concerning the Jumla district and other parts of W. Nepal.* What happened to the Mallas after the collapse of their kingdom and its division into many petty states? From some inscriptions of Doti it seems that a branch of the Malla remained in the district of Doti.

I refer to two tāmrapatra; one dated Śāka 1480, A.D. 1558 is issued by Nṛpatimalla and contains particulars about some donations of land; it quotes also other names of the predecessor of the king viz. Gaja Malla and Arjuna Malla.

The other is dated Śāka 1550, A.D. 1628 and issued by Rāika Aruddha Śāhi. Though the title Śāhi takes here the place of that of Malla there is no doubt that the king belongs to the

Malla family; in fact, the inscription ends with the formula in broken sanskrit: pāṣānāṃ kṣīyate reṣā samudraṃ kṣīyate jala | pṛthivī ksīyate reṇu mallabhāṣā na kṣīyate: "the word of the Malla is never destroyed".

I think that these Malla are related to the family of Pṛthvīmalla because Doti is very near Garhwal which perhaps was the original home of the Malla, at least so far as we can now guess; the Mallas to which Doc. A refers (see below), viz. the rulers of Baglung, took this title in rather later times and have no relation with them.

We know very little about the events which followed the collapse of their kingdom except the fragmentary information that can be gathered from some documents which I collected in Jumla and elsewhere. These documents may be divided into two groups *a*) tāmrapatras containing donations and *b*) family chronicles. One of them (Doc. A) is called Mallarājako vaṃśāvalī and was procured for me by Dīrgha Bahadur, the Boro Hakim of Baglung. Though it cannot claim to be a historical document of great interest, still it contains some useful information for more recent times and it shows that there existed the tradition of certain relations among the various feudal families ruling over this part of the world.

These Mallas are distinct from the family of Pṛthvīmalla: they belong to a second and later irruption which tradition would have come from Rājasthān after the fall of Chitor. This vaṃśāvalī is composed of various parts and as regards the mythic ancestors follows closely the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas:

I) Candravaṃśa – of Atreya gotra: Brahmā is born from the navel of Viṣṇu. Atri was born from the eye of Brahmā; Atri performs penance and after one thousand years Candramas is born; so Dattātreya from Viṣṇu and Durvāsa from Śiva. Candramas conquered heaven, earth and the nether world. He took away Tārā, the wife of Bṛhaspati, and he was the cause of a battle between the Gods and the Asuras; Indra and Śiva were on the side of Bṛhaspati, the Asuras and Śukra on that of Candramas.

The son of the latter was Budha.

Vaivasvat Manu of Sūryavaṃśa had no sons: therefore he performed putreṣṭi-yajña, but he begot a daughter called Ilā: Vasiṣṭha intervenes and according to Manu's wish turns the girl into a boy, who is called Sudyumna.

Sudyumna came one day to a place sacred to Pārvatī and which no man could enter without being changed into a woman: so he and his attendants were turned into women: his horse also became a mare.

Wandering in the forest Sudyumna met Budha and fell in love with him; Purūravas was then born who became a Cakravartin; then Āyu, then Nahuṣa, who on account of a curse became a snake; but in the Dvāpara age on being touched by Yudhiṣṭhira, he became again a man: his son was Yayāti who by his two wives begot five children, the eldest being Yadu and the youngest Puru. Puru became a Cakravartin: the other four were given four kingdoms in the four corners: 25 kings up to Bharata Cakravartin. Many of these names have nothing to do with those of the Pauranic lists: Pārce Vahān, Parbir, Sudu, Vahuga, . . . Rityaya, Rantati etc.

They performed 55 Aśvamedhas on the bank of the Ganges and 78 on the bank of the Yamunā. They reconquered the things which had been taken into the nether world by the Asuras. They ruled for 27,000 years.

II) nn. 26-49 from Bhāradvāja up to Yudhiṣṭhīra (*sic* [1]).

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[1] The spelling of the names is here maintained as found in the documents even if is irregular or mistaken.

III) Descendence of Abhimanyu.

nn. 50-79, up to Lakṣmīcandra.

IV) Lakṣmīcandra defeats Tāratak Rumdin: in battle his family acquires the name of Raithor (but below Raiṭhor) and settles in Kanauj.

nn. 80-89:

Mitrasena Raiṭhor, Surasena R., Dhira Śāh R., Matimal R., Amala Śāh R., Śaru Śāh R., Surajan R., Siddhipāl R., Jayadrath Śāh R., Karṇadhetu R. (*sic*), Mathimal Raiṭhor.

IV) When the Sultan Bādshāh asked for the surrender of Chitor, Mathi Mal refused and fought a fierce battle: he and his son Jayamalla died and the women committed sati. The Bādshāh ordered that the name Raiṭhor should no longer be added to that of the followers.

After the Raiṭhor the progeny of Deva Sharma starts.

They married Brahmin girls and became Brahmans.

V) nn. 90-95:

Deva Sharmā pādhya (*sic*)
Kasyap pādhya
Atrīva pādhya
Hariśankar pādhya
Śivaśankar pādhya
Kāśīdās pādhya

VI) nn. 96-105:

Narasiṃha Muḍulā and others asked Kāśīdās to be allowed to go and went near Kanauj; Kāśīdās desired to go to Mānasarovar, reached the Darbar of Jumla, was not allowed to proceed further and was given the daughter of the king. Names of these rulers of Jumla: Viṣṇudās, Deud. Dharmad., Devākhar, Sevākhar, Śrīkhar, Udayan, Bhāskara, Yom, Nimu.

VII) nn. 106-112.

Nimu had four sons: Gosalale, Kāpṛya, Sagunī, Kedaru; the son of the first was Gotami Brahman, of the second Samāl, of the third Bagāle Thāpā, of the last Mājjhale (who) become

Bādshāh of Tibet; from Kāpṛya the progeny (padavī) of the Śāhī starts:

Kāpṛya Śāhī
Dhandurāj Ś.
Medinīrāj Ś.
Jairāj Ś.
Manirāj Ś
Kemadār Ś.
Jagaratha (*sic*) Ś.

VIII) nn. 113-119

The brother of Jagaratha Śāhī was Mairāj Śāhī; his lāmā was Pokharel Bāhun. The son of Jagaratha (Jagadratha) Sāhī was Garje Bhīm who was given the throne of Jumla: after him the Bam progeny started:

Gajai Bhīm Bam
Bhāra Bam
Jagatra Bam
Goṭhāli Bam
Deu Bam
Srīvasu Bam
Malayī Bam

The youngest wife of Malayī had a son called Kṣānti Bam who was king of . . . Lālāsultān.

Descendence of Malayī:

elder son: Ṣarācakra (Kharācakra) ruler of Jājarkot;
younger son: Jagatra Bam:

1 Daraijaithum ruler of Rukum	2 Ananta Bam ruler of Jāhāri	3 Jagadratha ruler of Sāmākot	4 Candra Bam ruler of Sallyāna

The second son of Daraijaithum (also written Darejai) was taken away by Bhujel to be his king, and was called under three different names: Gothānāthi, Pithāmava and Ānamava[1]; nine castes, called the Tharthok, went with him: Muḍulā, Kārki, Pauḍel, Brahman, Rucāl, Bahik, Mahaṭho, Munavasti, Kām; first he became ruler of Anārkot; his son was Cakra Bam: his son was Diṃ Bam, the son of the last were Nāga Bam and Narsiṅga Bam: Nāga Bam practised athletics and defeated an Indian wrestler; he was therefore called Malla. His son Nārāyaṇa Malla married the daughter of Mani Mukunda of Tānsen (Palpa); he set up an image of Devī[2] in Baglung Chaur and extended the kingdom to the river Seti. He had three sons: Jitāri Malla, Rāja Malla, Kallyāṇa Malla. Jitāri Malla became ruler of Jalkot, Kallyāṇa Malla of Kaskīkot; Rājamalla ruled over 80000 people including Parvat, Beni and Tholthān. A list of names follows some of whom have already been recorded.

In Jumla, I photographed or copied also a set of vaṃśāvalīs or other documents which all come from Sijā (Sinjā). Of the Document "B" posterior to Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa, the Gurkha conqueror, and which seems to be a summary of previous chronicles, I could have only a copy in hindi; in it the story is narrated of Balīrāj. This king, the scion of a glorious family, was blessed by the vision of Candranāth who appeared to him assuming the appearance of a Brahmin and acted as his guru.

They went together to the Mānasarovar where they spent some time and then came back to Jumla: here Candranāth invested Balīrāj with the Rāja-tilak of Jumla, i. e. he was made king of this place: he left his imprints on a stone, and enjoined on the king the worship of them and having so done he disappeared. King Balīrāj then defeated the powerful Jālandharī Sijāpati of Jumla who ruled over Jumla; this town therefore was dependent on that state. He enlarged his fief both to East and West. His glory was known as far as China; the Government of China promised to give him seven dhārnis (= 17 seers) of gold, good horses, brocades etc. A religious treaty was also signed between China and him and many kinglets both to the East and to the West of Jumla became his vassals and paid tribute to Jumleśvara.

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[1] Explanation: because *a*) he was brought up in a cowshed, *b*) he was carried on the back, and *c*) because he had come.

[2] Mahākālī, Mahālakṣmī, Mahāsarasvatī; GP, p. 101.

This dynasty lasted for 16 generations until the Vikrama Saṃvat 1845, A.D. 1788 when the kingdom of Jumla was taken over by Pṛthvīnārayaṇa.

The succession of the rulers follows:

Balīrāj; his brother was Avīrāj
Vakṣarāj
Bijairāj
Viśeṣarāj; he had five brothers who went to Humla
Vibhoṣaṇa (*sic*)
Maṇirāj
Śrīmān Śāh who went to the village of Bhudān Jang
Sījam Śāh whose brother went to Tipṛkot[1] Juphāl
Vikram Śāh whose brother went to Byaṃs Gaṅ (?)
Bahādur Śāh whose brother went to Rārā Chāprū
Vīra Bhadra Śāh whose brother went to Tipṛkot Dunahī
Pṛthvīpati whose brother went to Tipṛkot Raccī
Suratha Śāh, whose brother went to Tipṛkot Tārā[2]
Sudarśana, his brother was Subhān Śāh
Śrīsūrya Bhān
Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa
Naranārāyaṇa
Prabhūnārāyaṇa
Vikrama Bahādur
Narendra Bahādur
Vīrendra Bahādur

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[1] Evidently in the district of Tibrikot.

[2] Probably Tārākot; all this shows that Tibrikot was the chief-place of a big district.

The statements which follow are taken from another document (C) which claims to be an old copy from an original dated Śāka 1315, Śaṃvat 1516 (*sic!* the two dates do not correspond) Kārtik 7 Sunday (Sunday 12, October 1393 accepting Śāka era).

It starts with the names of five kings: Mahārāj Jālandhari Parameśvara, 7 generations

Śrī Mahārāj Sijāpati Gaṇeśvori, 11 generations
Nāgarāj Jakti Siṃg of Haradvār, 5 generations
Mahārāj Parameśvara Gaganirāj, 13 generations
Mahārāj Balirāj Badrināth Parameśvara, 22 generations

The document first records the boundaries of the territory of Gaganirāj which are given as follows:

North: Badri and Cyāvni Gumba of Lhāsā
South: Lamjung
East: Tārikkot
West: up to Parakhya[1] and the pass of Mahājkhed (?).

We gather also that Gaganirāj was of the Aṅgusṭigotra (Agastyagotra ?) and that he had given his territory to Balirāj, the same as that of Doc. B. There is no mention of the rebellion of the latter, but the fact remains that the territory of Gaganirāj or part of his territory (Jumla) passed over to Balirāj.

On the other hand Doc. C, which is a kind of ballad, places Mukti Śāh and Javani Bhān in a wrong chronological order as compared to other texts: in fact Javani Bhān is said in Doc. D to be a contemporary of Gaganirāj.

Then, in the same Doc. C, a genealogy follows which in many places differs from the previous ones:

Balirāj
Vivagrāj

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[1] As usual ş for kha.

Syaṃrāj
Bhogrāj
Pyāj?
Caṃnarāj
Musarāj
Jasarāj
Abhikrāj
Bakrarāj
Prabhūrāj
Bhānā Śāhi
Vikrama Śāhi
Vṛvadra (Vīrabhadra?)
Mukti Śāhi and his brother Javani Bhān

Then Mukti Śāhi became jealous of his brother Javani Bhān, the trials of the latter and his fight against a snake are told in an epic mood; in his feats he was aided by Bālajit Rāu of Botā (*sic*), Akarbinyā Rāul of Lamtu and others. Rewards were given by him to these followers and other champions who received many kṣekā, fiefs, from him.

In document D dated Śriśāke 1516, śrisaṃvat 1617 we find Jalandhari, Sijāpati Gaṇesvār, Jakti Siṃg Harudar (Haridvār), Gaganirāj, Balirāj, Badrināth.

Then it goes on to say that the son of Sijāpati was the Dharmaputra Gaganirāj: the son of the latter was Karnarāj (for Karṇa?).

This document then tells the story of Dham Mahatra, Jas Mahatra and Bum Mahatra who had come from Kanauji Gaḍ and had served Karna, son of Gaganirāj; then they misbehaved with a girl whom the king loved; the king was angry with them and tore their sacred thread to pieces. Then they went for 12 years to Tibet in the Cyāṃni (above: Cyāvni) Gumba of Lhāsā in Bhoṭ: later they proceeded to the sacred river Kharpu (written Sharpu) Gāṅgā where they purified themselves for three years. But the king was not satisfied: then they went to Bhaṭṭyā (Bhātākātya?) Cauḍ Karnāli and remained there for seven years. So they went to the Cināṃsiya–Darbār. In the month of Kārtik, Karnarāj died. They performed the Masān–jap (smaśāna–jāpa) and Karnarāj came to life again. They got back the sacred thread: as a reward they received some kṣekā, fiefs, which are listed: donations of other kṣekā to others personages follow among whom Jāwani Bhān is mentioned.

Then we are told that Karnarāj went to Lhāsā being accompained by Jyāmyā Parānyā Bogṭi (*sic*) Kārki who was with him for 12 years. Jāmyā Bogṭi Kārki was allowed to have a market in Mugu, Cavākholā, Ṭākyā, and Tāklakhār. The devotion shown by Jāmyā Bogṭi Kārki on other occasions and other donations he received are then mentioned.

The donation of these kṣekā given by Gaganirāj is now respected by Bakrarāj (=Vakṣarāj), and Takra Jāvani Bhān.

Doc. E. Śrīgaganirāj had come from Citauḍi gaḍ (Chitor): he was attended for three years by Kālyā Caṃn rāṇā rāhul. The king was levying the tax called sik in Acchām: Caṃn rāṇā Kālyā rāul (so written now) and Kāli Bum were with him. They started attending the king. Donations and privileges granted to them or to others.

It is difficult at present to ascertain the correctness of these documents; sometimes they agree sometimes they contain contradictory statements. They cannot be said to be chronicles; they are rather records of donations made or better claimed to have been made by ancient kings to some leading families. They are not original documents but family copies; there is no agreement between the eras noted: Doc. C Śāka Saṃ. 1315 Śrisaṃ. 1516; Doc. D Śāka Saṃ. 1516 Śrisaṃ. 1617.

Moreover, Śāka 1315 would represent a date very near to the documents issued by Pṛthvīmalla; but in those documents there is no mention of him. The memory of his kingdom had vanished.

The only thing upon which these documents agree is that at Sijā, Sijjā (Seṃjā) there was a ruling family which claimed descent from Jālandhari Sijāpati (Doc. B) Ganeśvori (Gaṇeśvara?) Sijāpati (Doc. C); Gaganirāj who plays a prominent part in these documents was a dharmaputra of Sijāpati. But he had given his territory to Balirāj, who appears in Doc. A and B as the king of Jumla. According to other sources (Doc. D) Gaganirāj had a son Karna (Karṇa) who went (or fled?) to Tibet. Another story, not dated, claims that Balirāj defeated Sijāpati and was the founder of the Jumla kingdom (Doc. B).

Jālandhari Sijāpati appears in almost all the documents as the chief ancestor. He is also found in the vaṃśāvalī of the rājas of Dullu which starts with Rāṭhor rāja Ratan Jot. The seventh in this list is Nārāyaṇa who is said to have come to Chitaur Gaḍ from Jotpur: he had two sons, the elder being Sūryavaṃśi, and the younger Jālandhari: both went to Mānasarovar where Sūryavaṃśi remained: Jālandhari married Kālikādevi and came to Candannāth of Jumla (cf. Doc. A) and received food (bhojan) from the Brahmins.

In that same vaṃśāvalī most of the kings have the name of Baṃm added to their personal name. One of them, Malai Baṃm, is said to have subdued 48 kinglets of the four quarters; his eldest son became the ruler of Dullu, and the youngest the ruler of Dailekh. This Malai Baṃm is certainly the same os Malayī Bam of Doc. A, whose fourth ancestor is Gothāli Bam in the same Doc. A, just as Gothaḍi Bam is the fourth ancestor in the Dullu Vaṃśāvalī.

On the other hand, Candranāth of Doc. A is evidently the same as Candannāth of the Dullu vaṃśāvalī. Garje bhīm of Doc. A, is probably the same as Gaganirāj of Doc. B and C. All these facts seem to show that the various vaṃśāvalīs have, at least in part, some common source and secondly that some of the families who settled as rulers in those parts of Nepal are descended from a common ancestry.

The existence of some rulers recorded in the genealogical lists is confirmed by tāmrapatras, or copies of tāmrapatras, which I could find; three rulers are testified by them; one is Vakṣarāja recorded in the copy of a tāmrapatra in Litākot.

The copy, to judge from its present condition, is old but the man who made it was unacquainted with the alphabet in which the tāmrapatra was written: there are therefore in this copy not only many dots marking the points in which he was unable to read anything, but also the remaining portions are almost meaningless. Anyhow, the name of the king and the date can be read and we can gather that the style of the document is very similar to that of the kanakapatra of Shituska; it shows that the formulae of the chancellery used at the time of Pṛthvīmalla were copied by the following rulers; the same can be said of the concluding formula containing the curse against the transgressors of the royal order. So far as one can judge from the miserable mess that the copyist made, the tāmrapatra contains a list of privileges granted to Rāul Goṭh and it was addressed to the adhikārins and other officials of upper and lower Jumla: Buddha, Dharma Saṃgha, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara are invoked and the names of witnesses follow, among whom many ācārya and Rāula can be discerned. Some Rāula are called rāja.

Another tāmrapatra of which I was given a copy in Jumla records Surath Śāh and establishes some boundaries; it is dated Śāka, 1646. Witnesses: Suhit rāj, Kālubiṣṭaca Dyāmā Bhaṇḍāri, Khavāś Joṣi; in the seal there is the name of the king and the design of a śaṇkha: it starts with the invocation of Badrināth and Muktināth. A third tāmrapatra from Jumla is dated Śāka 1704, A.D. 1782, and is issued by Mahārajādhirāja Śrīkṛṣṇa Śāh who donates some fields to Śrī Viṣṇūpadhyāya. An invocation to Badrināth and Muktināth preceeds. This Kṛṣṇa Śāh cannot be found in the previous lists. On the other hand, in the biography of the Vth Dalai Lama we read that in 1679 a mission to Lhasa was sent by Narasiṃha of ạDsum lan, viz. Jumla.

But we are not interested in establishing the lists of these local chiefs: they ruled over a few villages and had little historical importance. We are more concerned with the events in general that happened in this part of the world after the political unity created by the Mallas came to an end.

The records mention that the new chieftains came from Rājasthān, a few courageous leaders with a few followers who conquered new possessions for them in the sub-Himalayan countries; the name of Chitor recurs very often in the documents: that these chiefs claimed such a descent was known also to the Tibetans, and mention of this claim is contained in the ạDsam bu gliṅ rgyas bšad (p. 10 of my copy [1)]). There is no reason to disbelieve this tradition.

Around these rulers many families are recorded and their fiefs delimited; these families represent the new aristocracy or the minor vassals. Some of them appear to be prominent and have left traces of their names on certain monuments, as for instance Rāul Javan in Michagaon. Though the political unity which the Mallas had established in Guge, Purang and Western Nepal, had come to an end, there are traces that a connection between the two countries continued for many centuries; and with it Buddhism resisted the impact of Hinduism. The stūpas of Michagaon, the latest to my knowledge, are as I said before, of far more modest proportions than those of Jumla or Shituska (a place a few miles to the w. Jumla); even their form does not follow the traditional scheme of the

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[1)] When Chitor was captured two princes escaped and brought the images of T'ugs rje c'en po with them up to Kojarnāth; same story in the Dullu Vaṃśāvalī.

stūpa. They evidently show that Buddhism was in great decline. But commercial relations between Tibet and this part of the country went on for a long time: we find that some members of this aristocracy were allowed to trade in Tāklakhar, i.e. Brag la mk'ar, Taklakot; we see that many of these people took shelter in some Lamaistic monasteries (here Gumba, = dgon pa) such as, Cyāṃni, Cyāvni Gumba: others went to the Mānasarovar and to Lhasa: some of them offered images to the temples of Tibet. In the Tibetan texts there are traces of the importance of Jumla; some agents sent from this place to Lhasa are recorded in the biography of the 5th Dalai Lama. But a part of this aristocracy, chiefly in the north, was of local extraction, an old nobility which survived either as landlords or traders. Such for instance, is Jāmyā Bogṭi Kārki, who has probably a Tibetan name, Jāmyā (ạJam dbyaṅs). The traces of old cultural connections with Tibet still survive in some names: kṣekā is the general name of the fiefs donated by the kings: and this word is nothing else than Tib. gži ga, gži k'a, fief, appanage: lāmā is Tib. bla ma, guru.

But now there is no mention of Guge: the Tibetan territory is simply called Lhāsā: which implies that Guge had lost all its importance and that the documents were compiled after Guge had been annexed to Lhasa, which conquered the territory already subjected by Seṅ ge rnam rgyal of Ladakh, in the year 1683, when the Guge kingdom lost for ever its independence.

Let us now summarize the final results we may draw from a first examination of the documents discovered.

In the end of the 12th century some tribes, certainly Khasa, invaded respectively the kingdom of Purang and that of Guge (and probably also Ladakh). The conquerors of Guge established their capitals in Seṃjā, Sijā to the north of Jumla. In the 13th century Purang and Guge and western Nepal were united and this marked the climax of the power of the Mallas. Conquests on a large scale were undertaken; as far as Dullu and Kaskīkot. It was a large state, based on a feudal system which united the local chiefs under the paramount power of the Mallas; a new aristocracy was also created at the service of the rulers. Hinduism began to supersede Buddhism in the Nepalese part of the kingdom. Later there was a new influx of invaders, most probably Rajput. Under the impact of the newcomers, the cohesion maintained by Pṛthvīmalla was weakened, his kingdom collapsed, the feudal chiefs became independent. Guge also regained its independence and Purang seems to have been nothing more than one of its provinces. Seṃjā, Sijā, after the fall of the Mallas and the independence reconquered by Western Tibet, fell into the hands of some new rulers, and retained for a while a certain prestige; the Sìjāpati seems to have been recognized, at least nominally, as a kind of overlord possessed of a certain prestige in West Nepal. Its dominions included Jumla. Then Jumla became independent under Balirāj and as had happened before, a new aristocracy came into being by the donation of fiefs, etc. Hinduization progresses and Buddhism completely disappears; it only remains on the very border, where it could maintain a spiritual and rejuvenating contact with the monastic centers of Tibet. A more detailed investigation of the material which has now came to light and the discovery of new documents will complete this scheme which, for the time being, seems to me to correspond fairly well to the real facts.

It is to be noted that some of the documents which are mere records of donations, introduce some rudimentary epic elements (as in the case of those concerning Javani Bhān), and that the tradition is already well established that some of these newcomers claimed to have hailed from Kanauj and Chitor.

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(edited by Dr. P. Daffinà)

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

P. 1, n. 2	read: Edinburgh
P. 18, n. 2	read: P'yogs las rnam rgyal
P. 39, l. 28	instead of remands, read: reminds
P. 45, l. 17	with reference to: graṃthadvavarmaṇaḥ, add, as a note: may be alternately read: graṃthahva°
P. 46, l. 1st	read: Ācārya
P. 49, l. 21	read: Jayapāla
P. 49, ll. 34-35	add: 5 śikhariṇī, 6 uncertain metre, 7-13 śloka
P. 50	read: Gela for Sela
P. 50, ll. 25-26	read: Dīpamālā for Dīpāmālā
P. 52, n. 1	instead of ạP'o braṅ, read: P'o braṅ
P. 68, l. 29	read: vaṃśāvalīs
P. 69, l. 28	read: Krāśicalla
P. 70, l. 21	read: Aśokacalla
P. 71, l. 26	read; mÑa' ris skor gsum
P. 71 Dele n. 1	
P. 92, l. 17	instead of Žaṅ žuṅ smad, read: Žaṅ žuṅ stod
" ll. 18-19	instead of Žaṅ žuṅ stod, read: Žaṅ žuṅ smad
P. 94, n. 1, l. 1st:	婆 read: 娑
P. 94, n. 1, l. 3	娑 read: 婆
P. 95, l. 19	read: nakula
P. 98, l. 16	read: Guhyaka
P. 102, l. 15	read: Chin ch'ü instead of Kin ch'ü
P. 103, l. 2, l. 1	read: " now made probable by our inscription if the reading of l. 17 is cīnanṛpatīn, as it appears "
P. 103, l. 3	read: Varāhamihira
" l. 7	read: Kāśmīra
" n. 3	read: Mahācīnakramācāra
P. 104, l. 22	instead of adds, read: add
P. 104, end of note	read: niṣkalacīna
P. 104, end of note	add: All that has previously been said does not refer, of course, to the Cīna of the *Arthaśāstra*
P. 110, l. 15	read: kanakapatra
P. 117, l. 3	read: kṣīyate
P. 123, note	read: In the text, kh is usually found for ṣ
P. 124, l. 20	read: Śrīśāke 1516, Śrīsaṃvat
P. 125, l. 32	read: Śrīsam
P. 127, l. 31	read: śaṅkha
" l. 34	read: Mahārājādhirāja

The Report had been printed and was ready to be delivered to the public when I received though Doctor Gnoli, whom the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East had sent to Nepal for further researches on the Nepalese inscriptions, a copy of the Magazin written in Gurkhali, *Itihāsa Prakāśa* n. 2, V. S. s. 2013 = 1956, part first, containing the report of a journey undertaken in Western Nepal by yogī Naraharinātha.

The ascet visited the same parts of Western Nepal as myself, went as far as Seṃjā, Sijā and copied inscriptions, praśastis, vaṃśāvalīs some of which were accessible to me and others which escaped my notice. Moreover Naraharinātha being a well known ascet of the Gorakṣa school (Kānphāṭa) enjoys among the people a prestige which opens to him all the doors without the suspicion that often surrounds foreigners.

I am glad that his visit to Seṃjā, Sijā confirmed fully what I had anticipated; he describes the place and gives a detailed notice of the extensive ruins which still exist there and of the frequent finds of coins, ornaments, old utensils and antiquities of various kind. He also came to the conclusion that Seṃjā of our inscriptions was the capital of Pṛthivīmalla as is evidenced by the kanakapatra and other documents. He discovered in Seṃjā, Sijā three fragments of inscriptions in which only the name of Ripumalla is mentioned (pp. 79-81). Various inscriptions or tāmrapatras of Pṛthvīmalla were discovered in different places.

I join here the list of the most important:

1) one inscription of Pṛthvīmalladeva of Śrīśāka 1260 near Kālikot (p. 45).

2) one in Kuñcīgaon in Accham of year 1273; in it mention is made of Śrīdevaman certainly the some of that of inscription published above p. 45. The writer of the inscription was Iṣṭidāsa (45).

Another inscription near Dullu records the erection of a caitya on a well by Pṛthvīmalla giving order to that purpose to Devavarman. The inscription is dated Śrīśāka 1280 and was written by lekhakānām anekānāṃ cārucūḍāmaṇir guṇī iṣṭidāsa (p. 68).

A tāmrapatra dated Śrīśāka 1280 was issued in Durlanghyanagara (which is a learned rendering into Sanskrit of the name of Dullu); the introduction in Sanskrit extolls the merits of the king called *inter alias*: gargyāyaṇagautamādipraṇītarājanītiśāstrapravīṇa (p. 69).

As regards the inscription on the vāpī of Dullu l. 3 yogī Naraharinātha reads naptā śrīr. I still think (as Bāburām ācārya) that the exact reading is: naṣṭā śrīr.

As regards the kīrtistambha of Dullu Naraharinātha was able to read the two last lines (p. 49, ll. 8-9):

> grahar̥ṣisūryagaṇābde śāke jyeṣṭhasya mecake |
> rudrāhe bhānuvāre sau kīrtistambho dhiropitaḥ ||

The date of Ripumalla can be better established on account of colophon of a mss. of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra published by Rāhula Sāṅkr̥tyāyana, *JBOAS*, Vol. XXIV, p. 163 dated Vikrama S. 1370 = 1313 A. D. My attention on this mss. has been drawn by Prof. Petech.

Two orders of Balirāja are respectively dated Śrīśāka 1320 and 1328 = 1398 and 1406; of Suratharāja we have two documents dated Śrīśāka 1641, 42 = A. D. 1719, 1720; Sudarśanashāh is dated Śrīśāka, 1679 = A. D. 1757.

As regards the chronology of these Malla rulers we have therefore the following well ascertained dates:

Krācalla 1223
Aśokamalla 1251-1274
Ripumalla 1313
Pr̥thvīmalla 1338, 1351, 1357, 1358, 1376.

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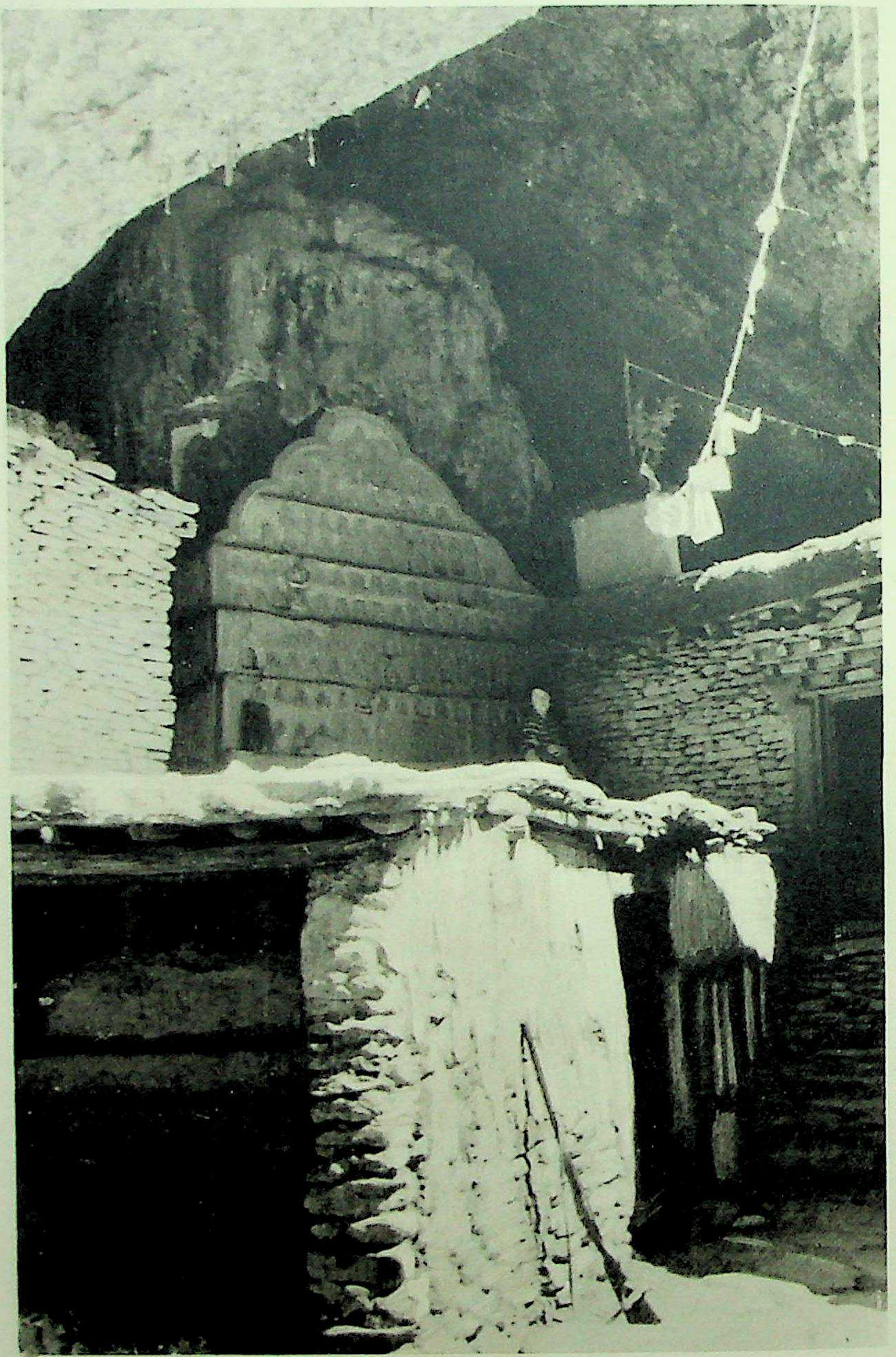

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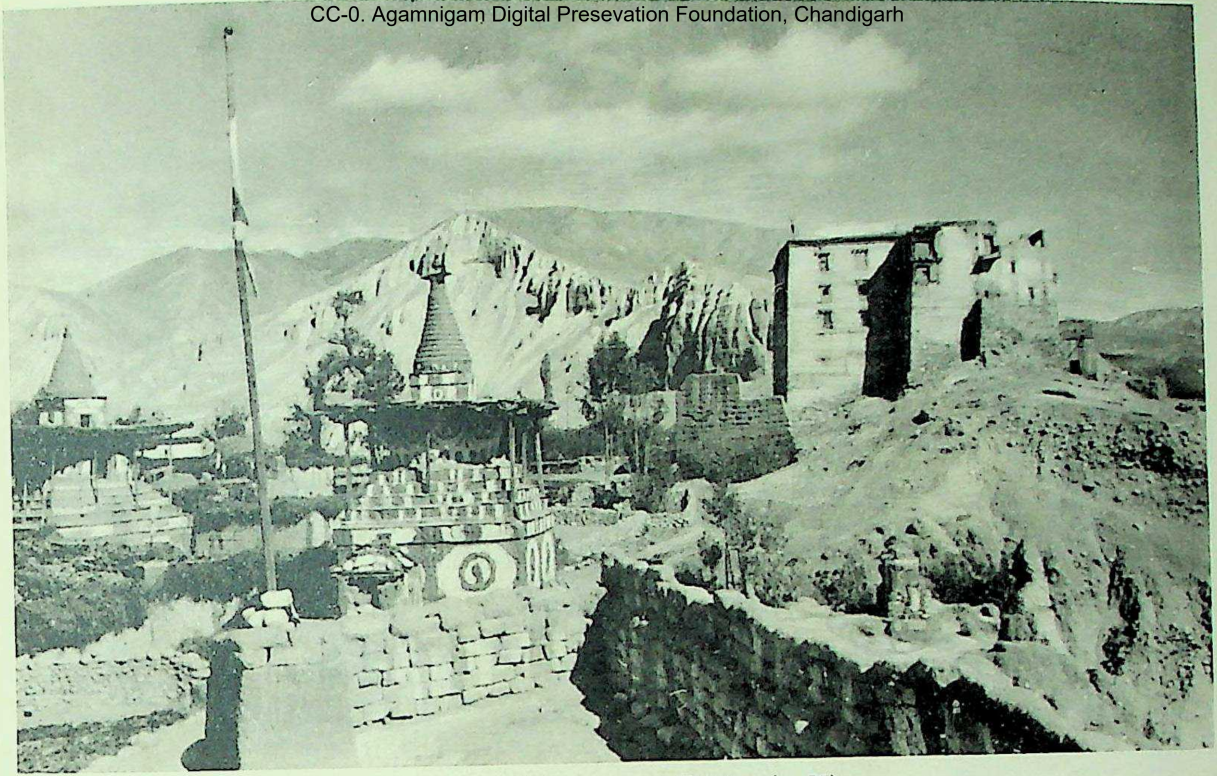

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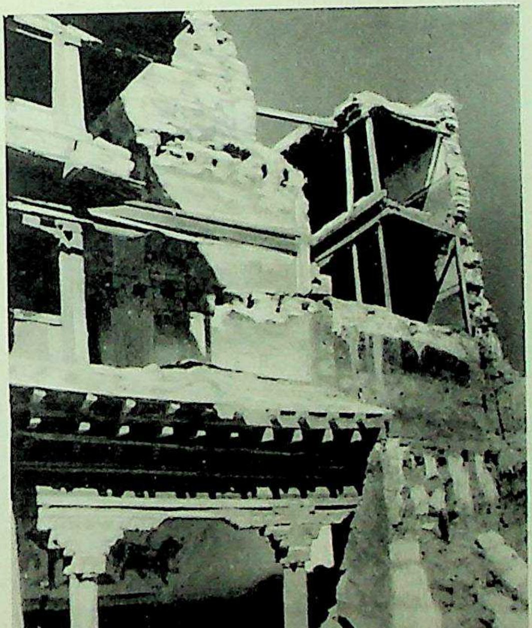

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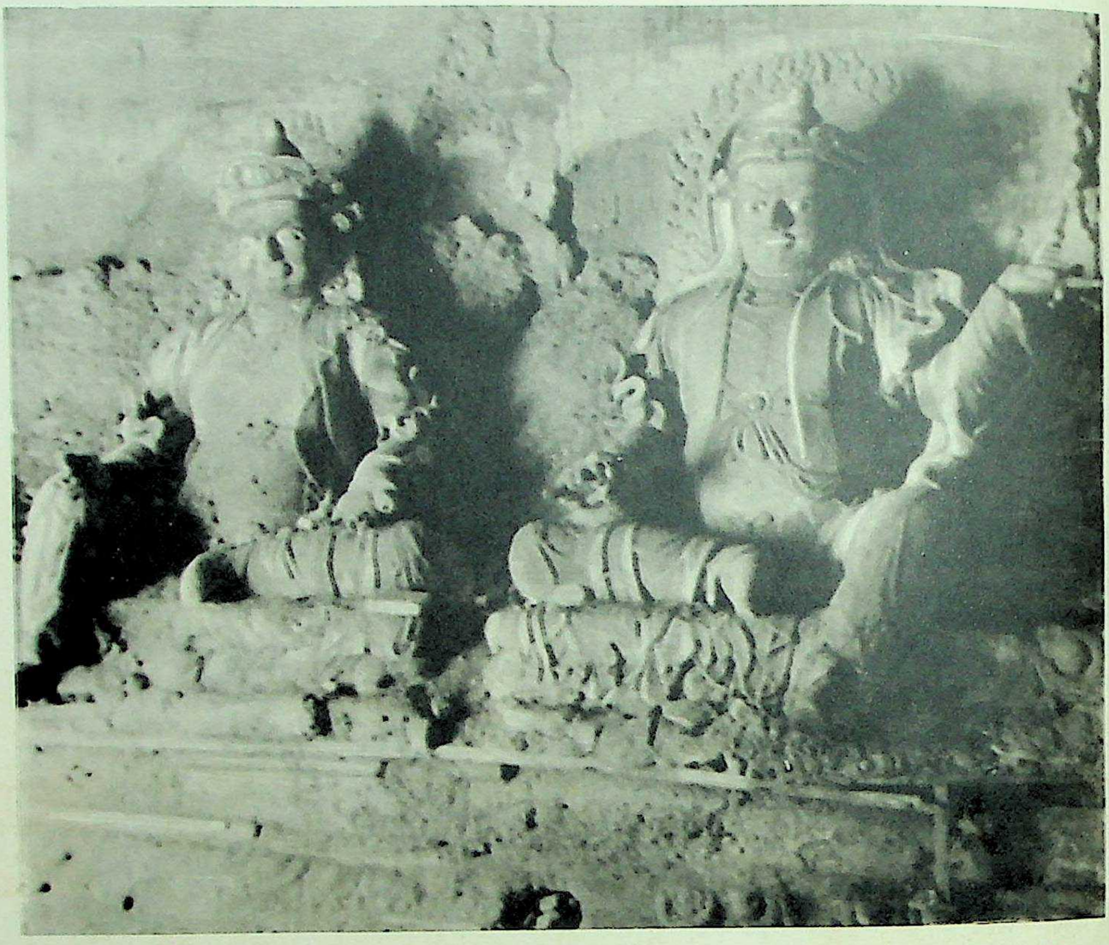

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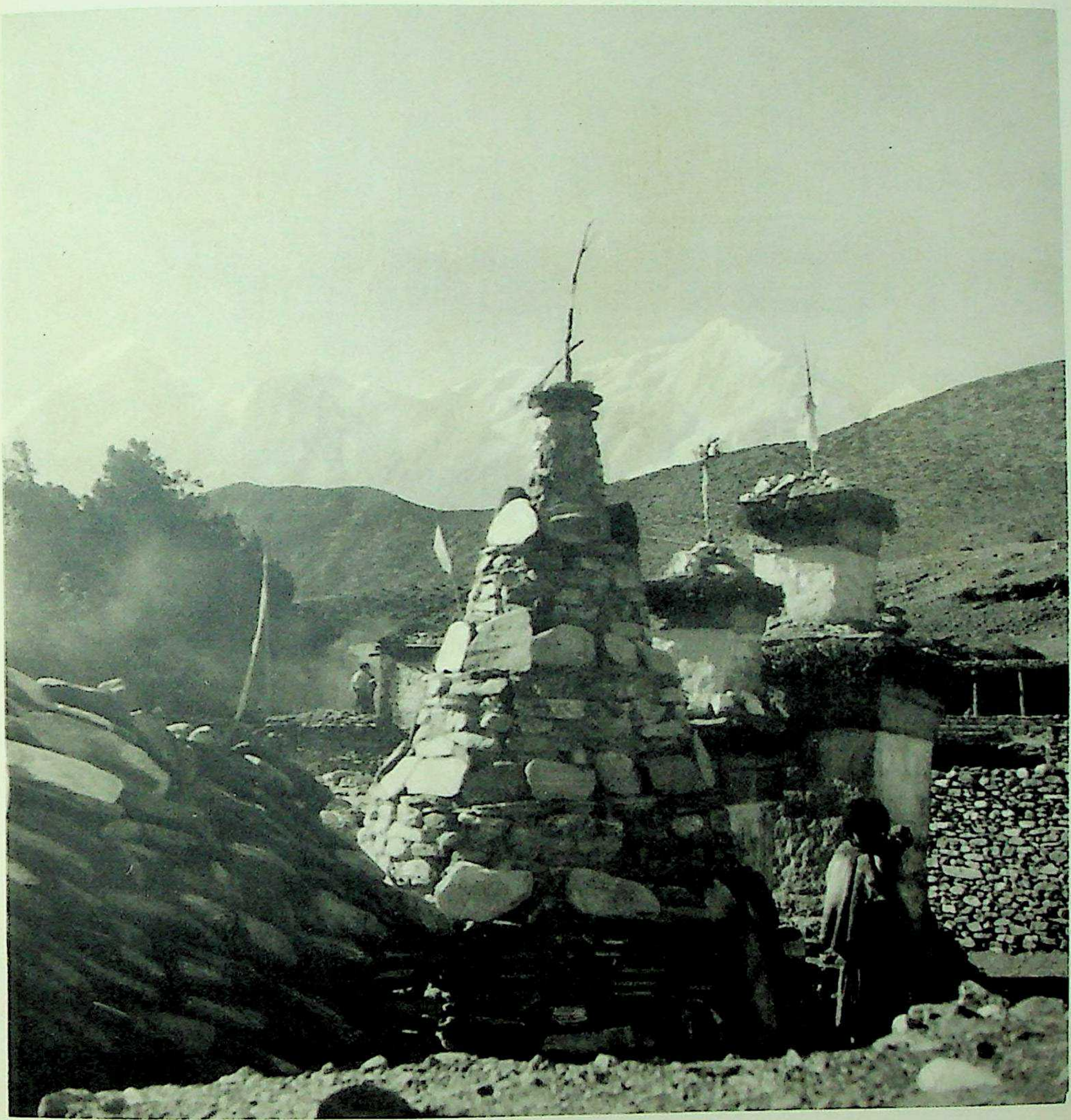

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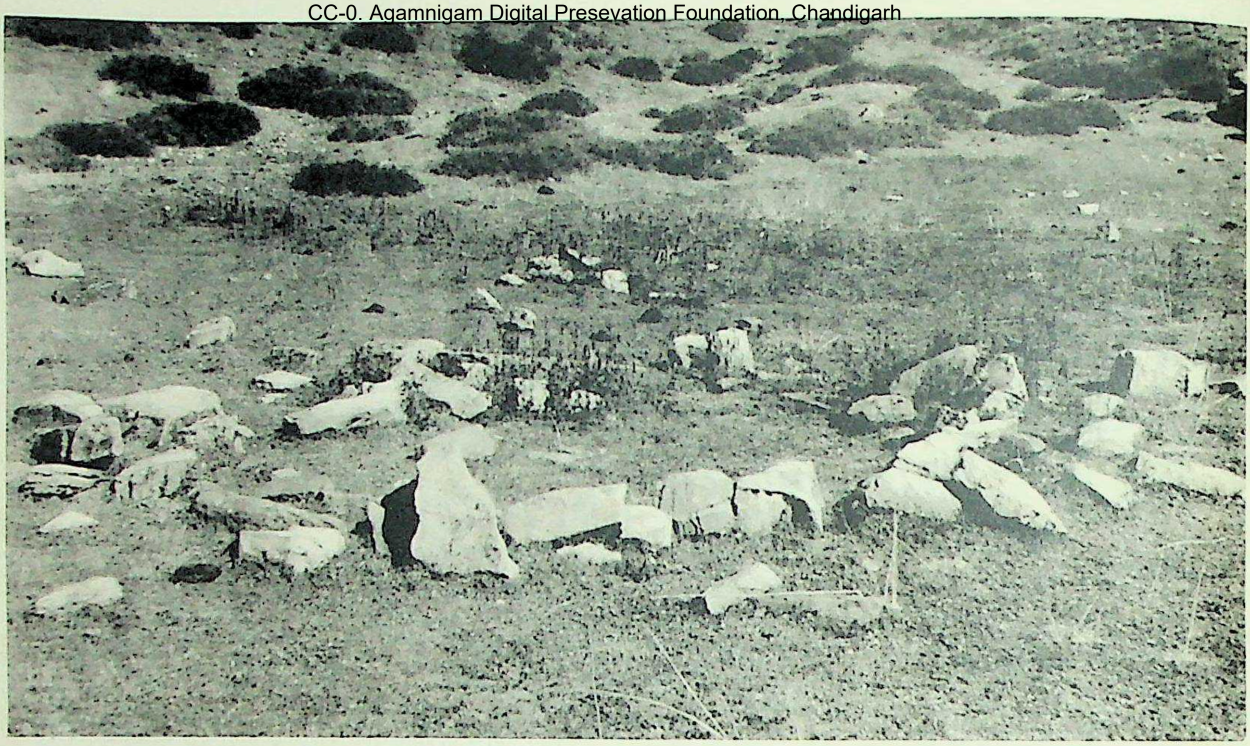

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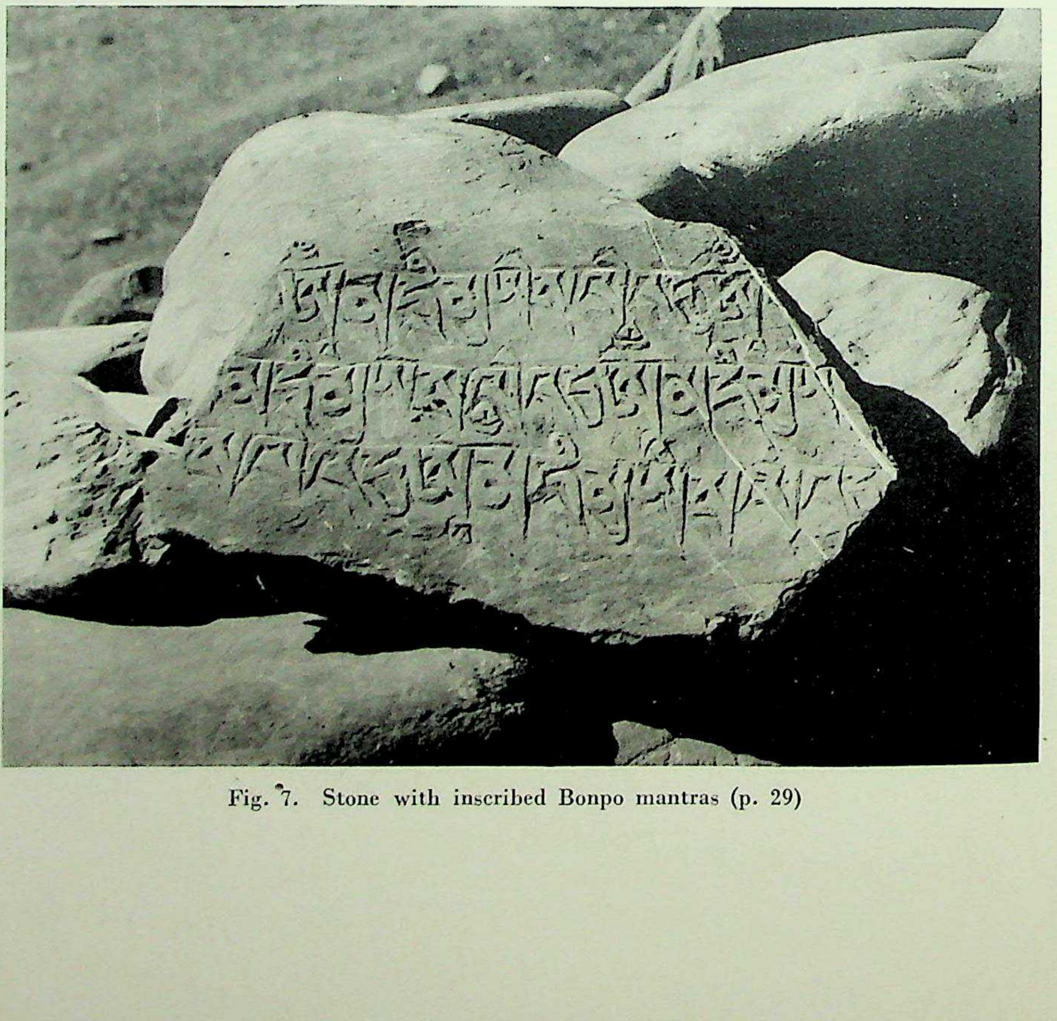

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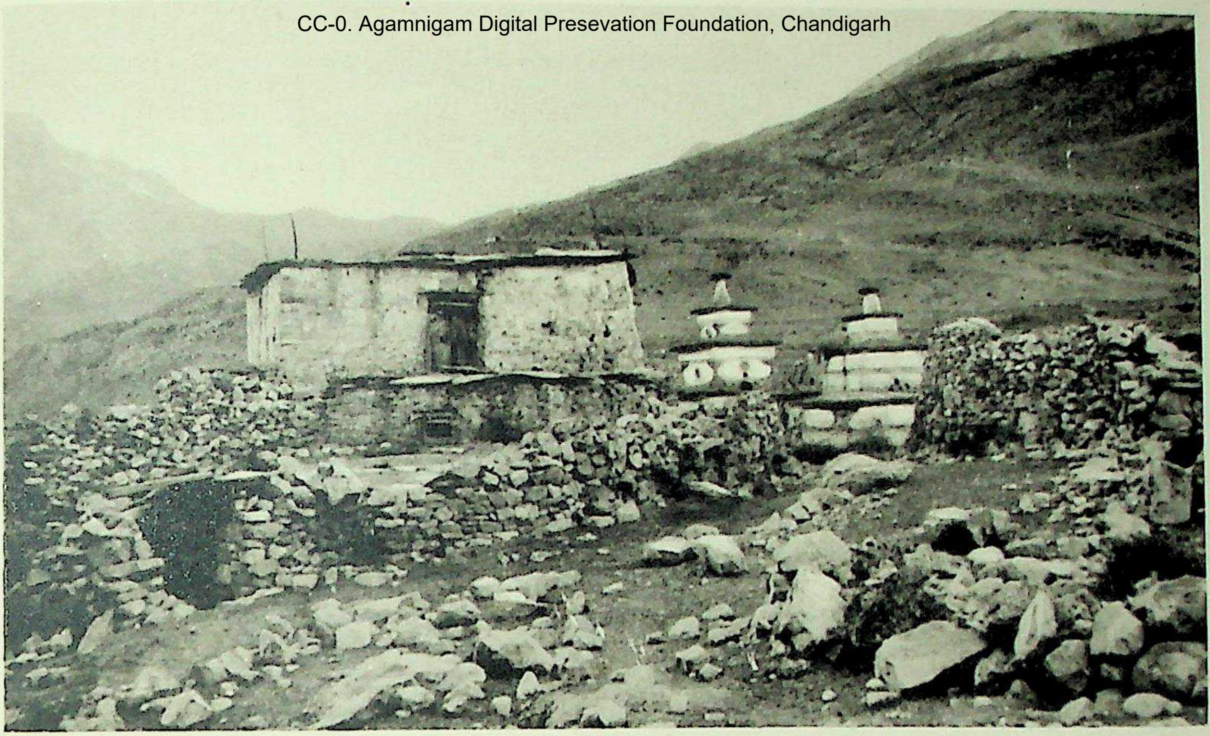

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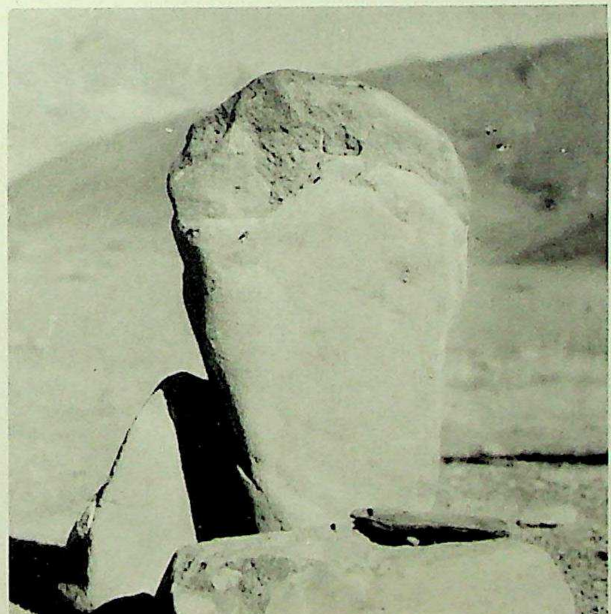

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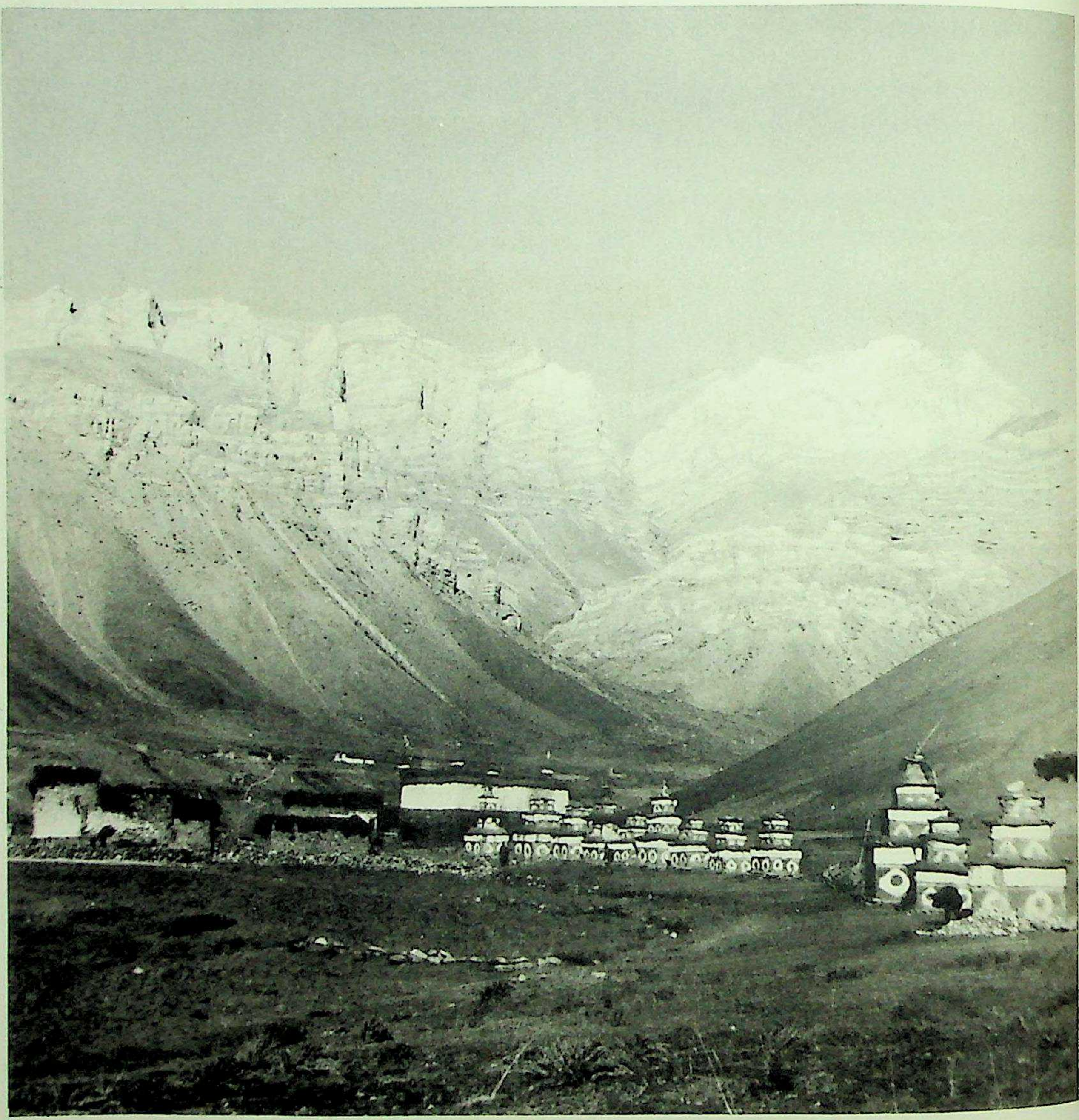

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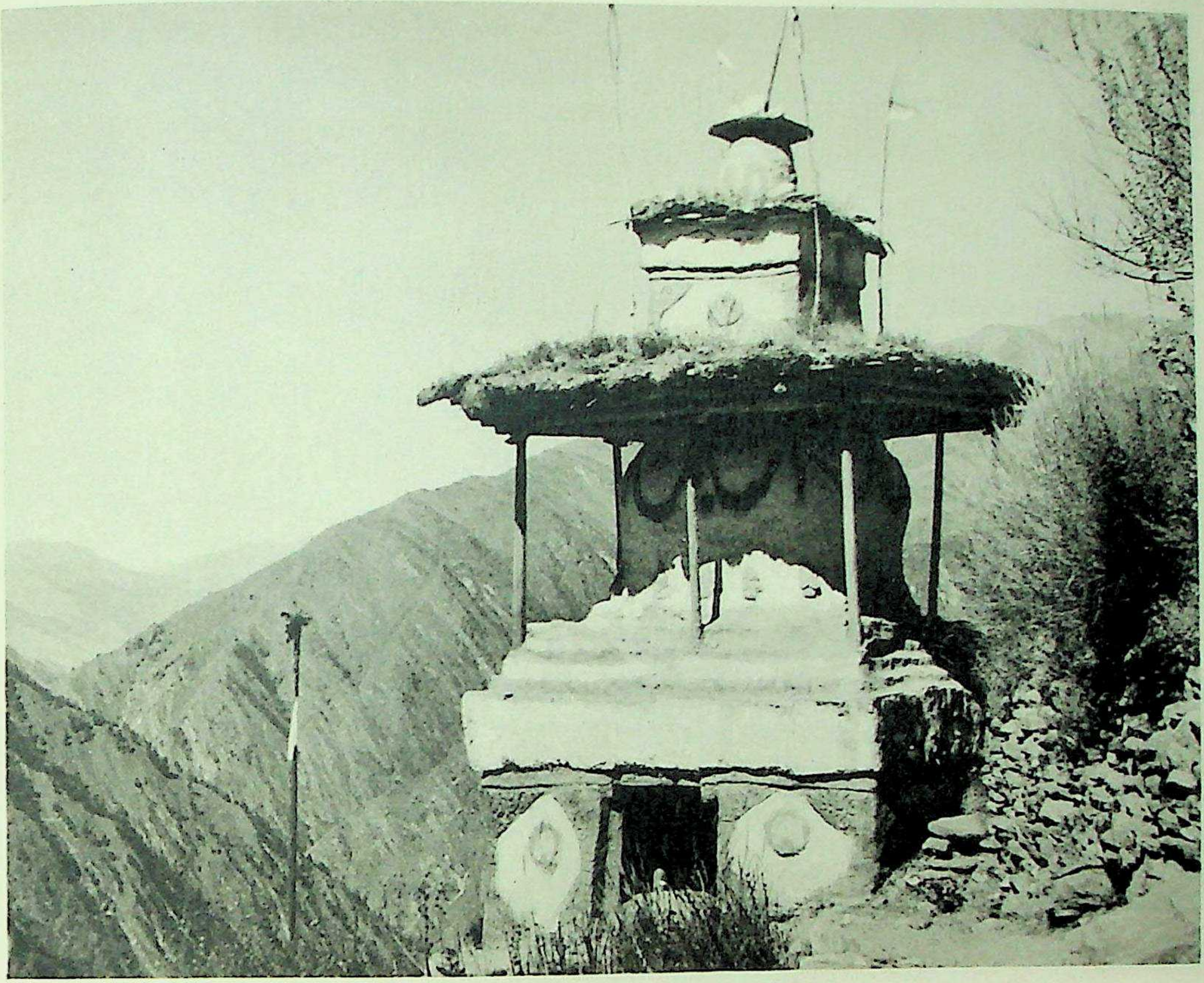

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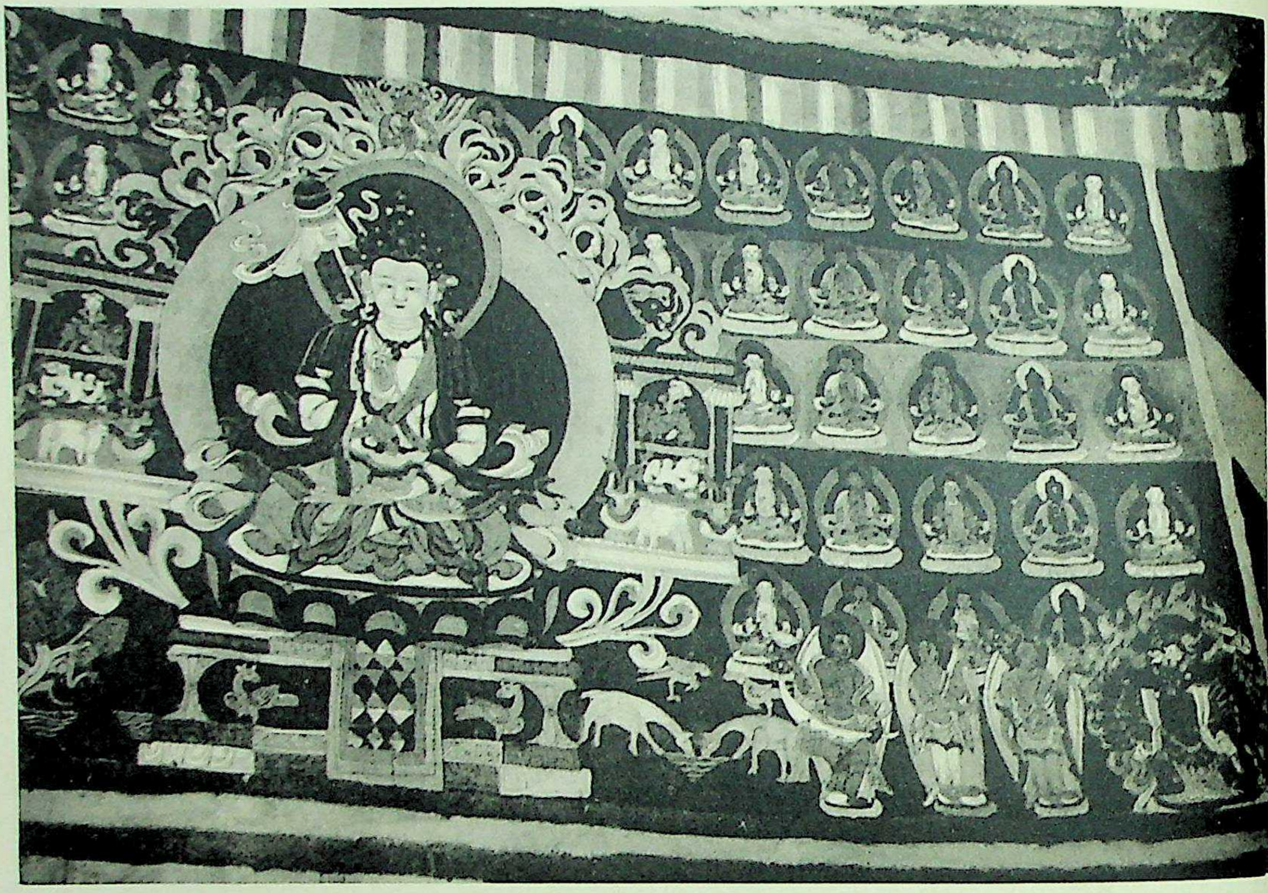

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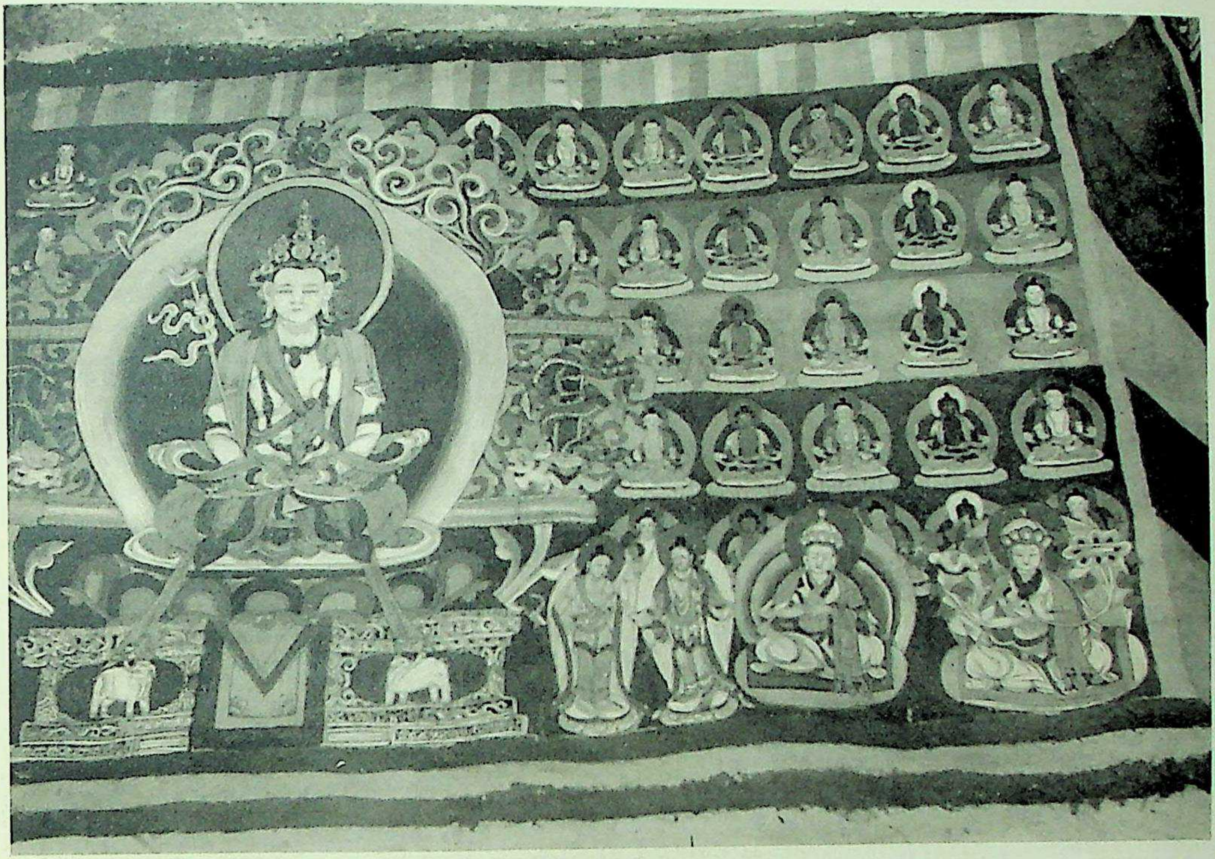

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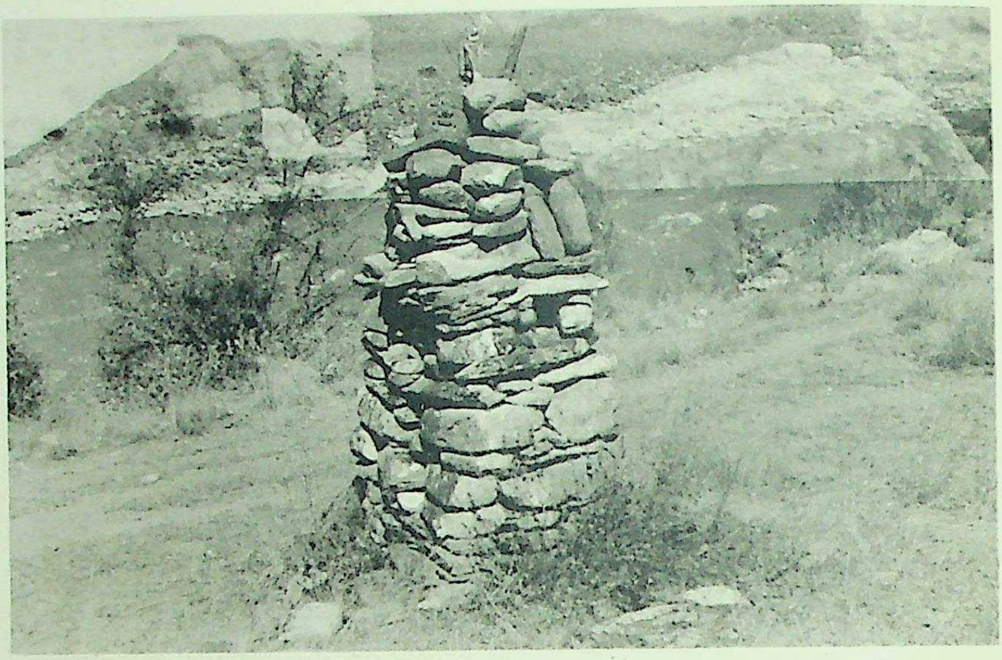

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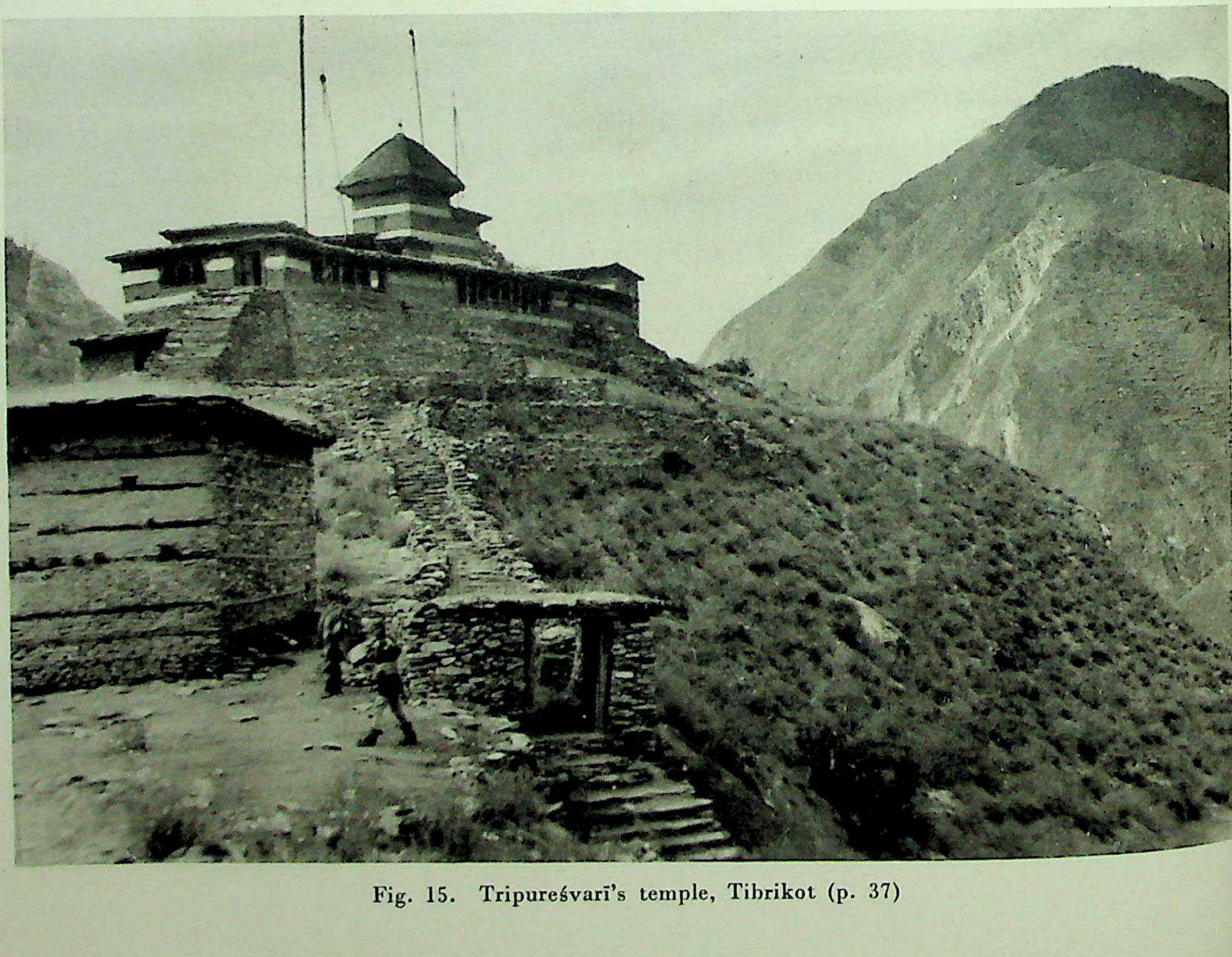

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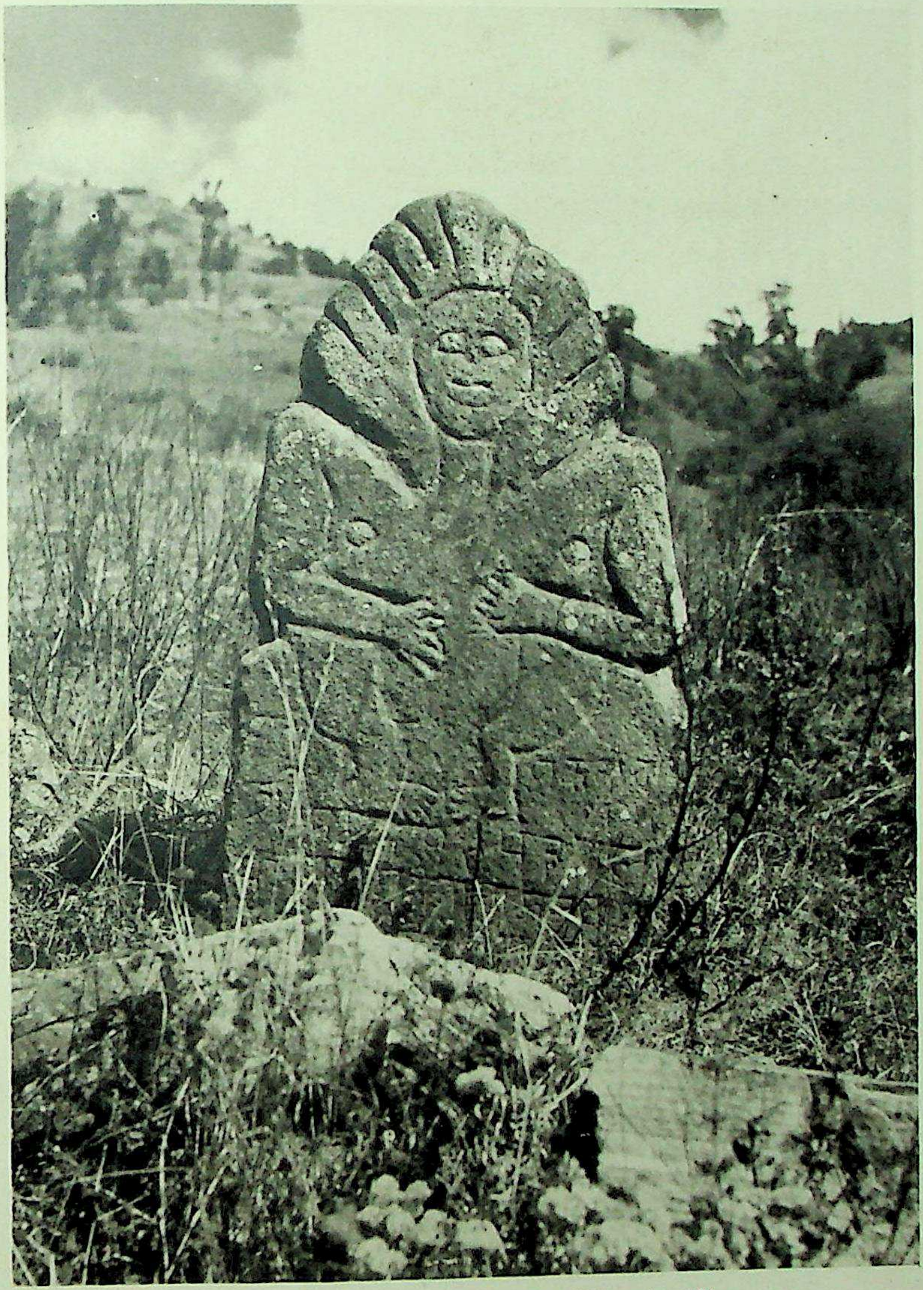

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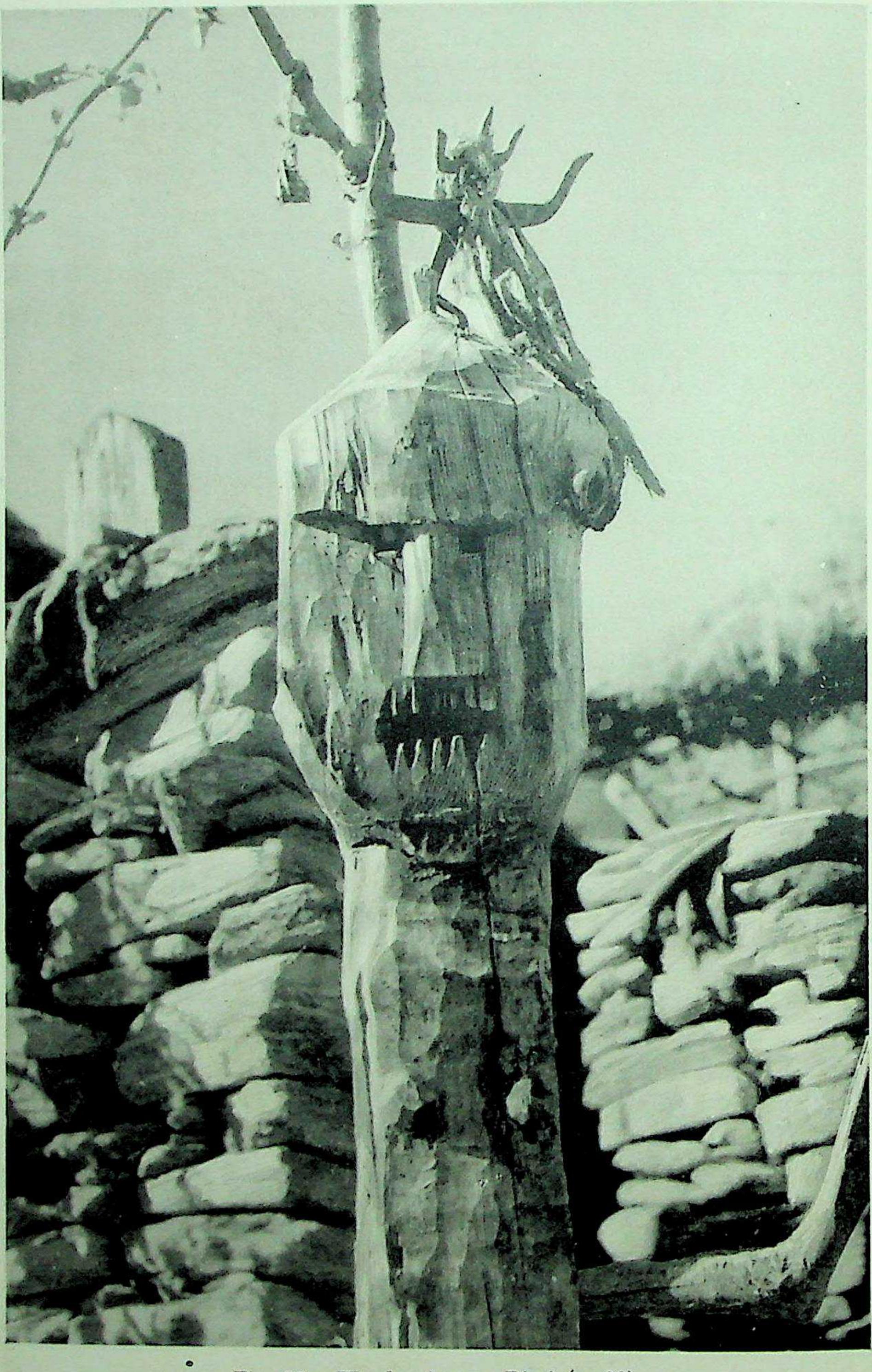

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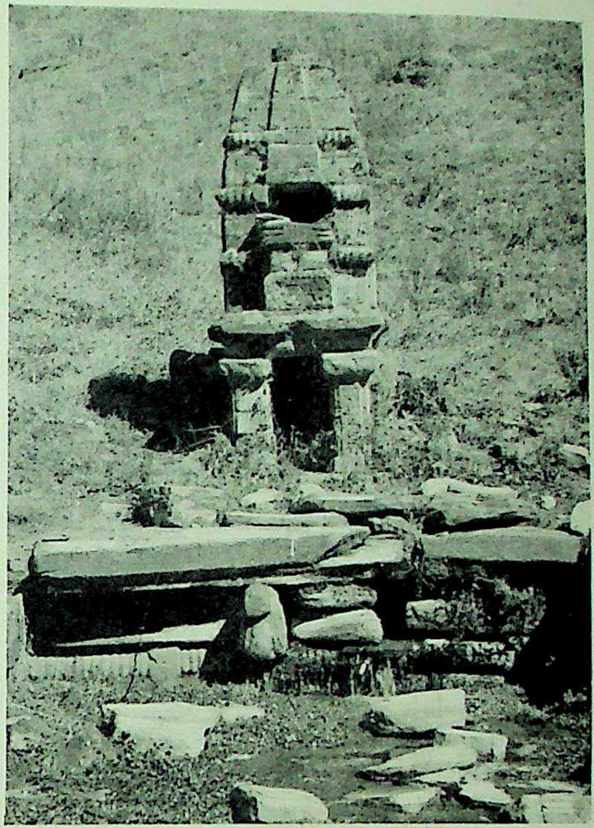

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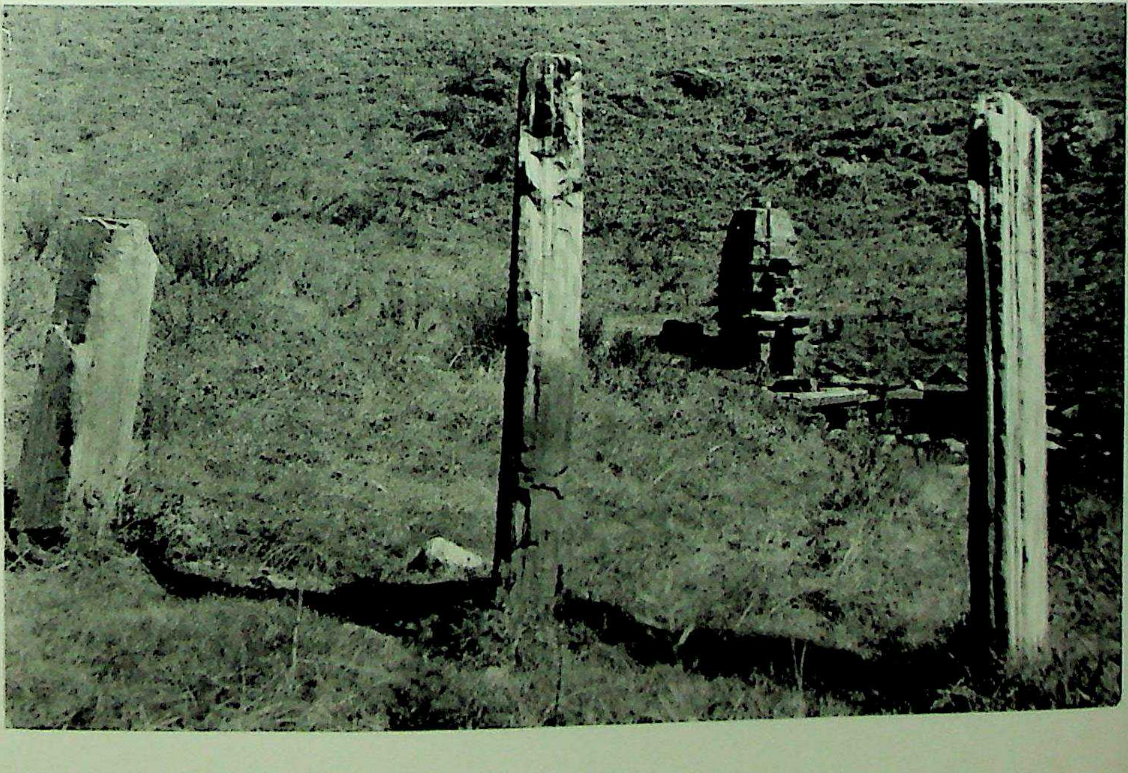

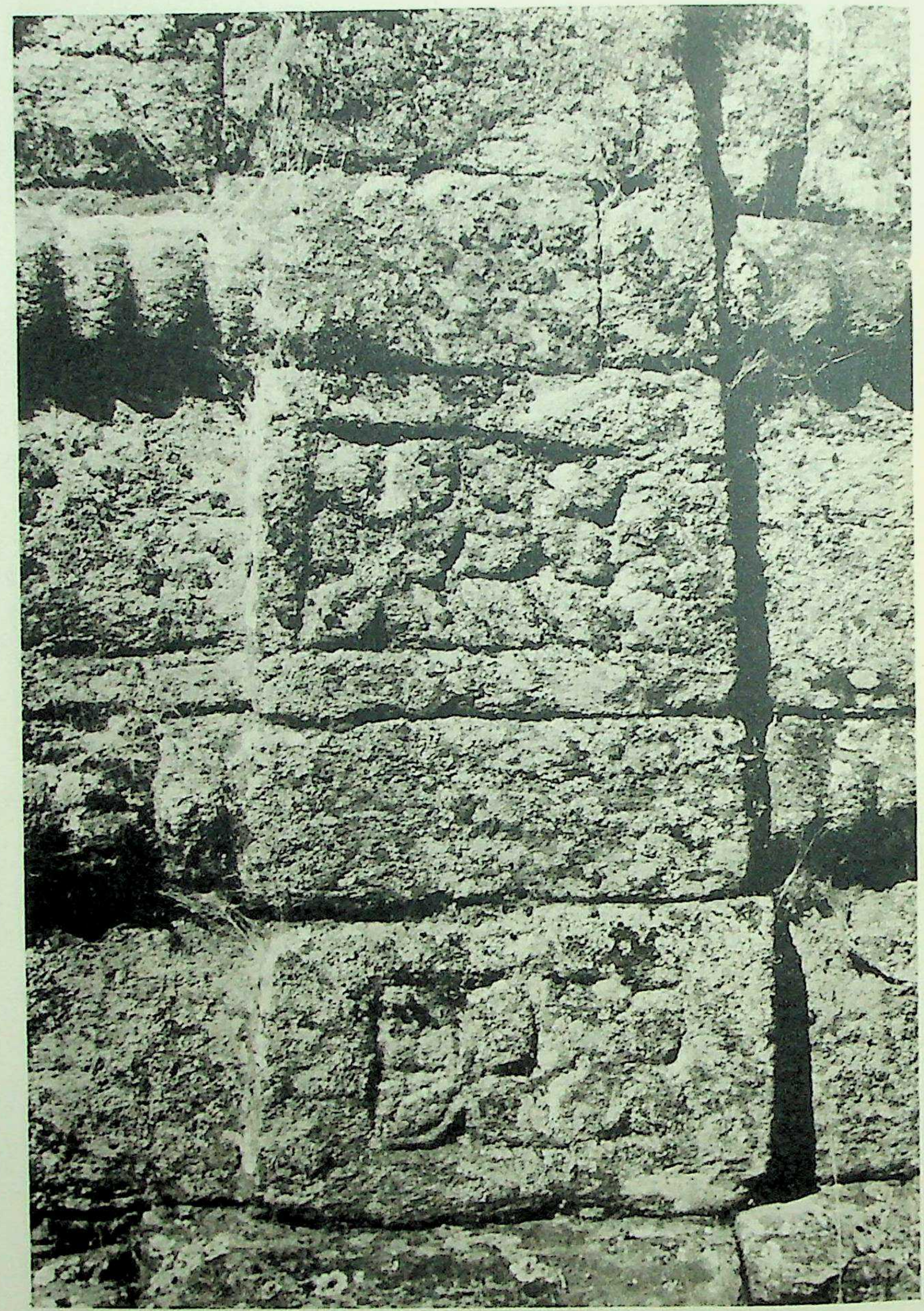

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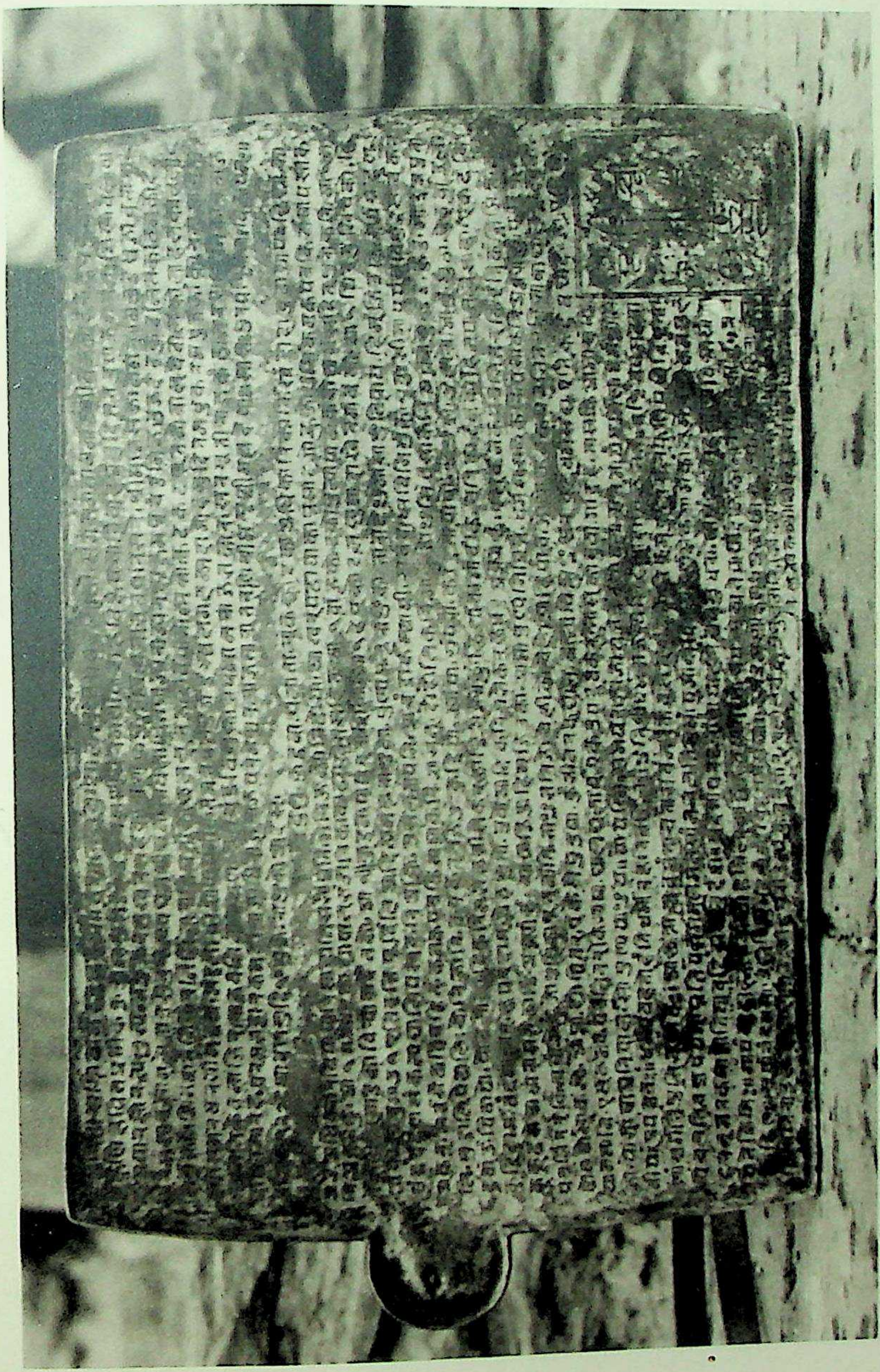

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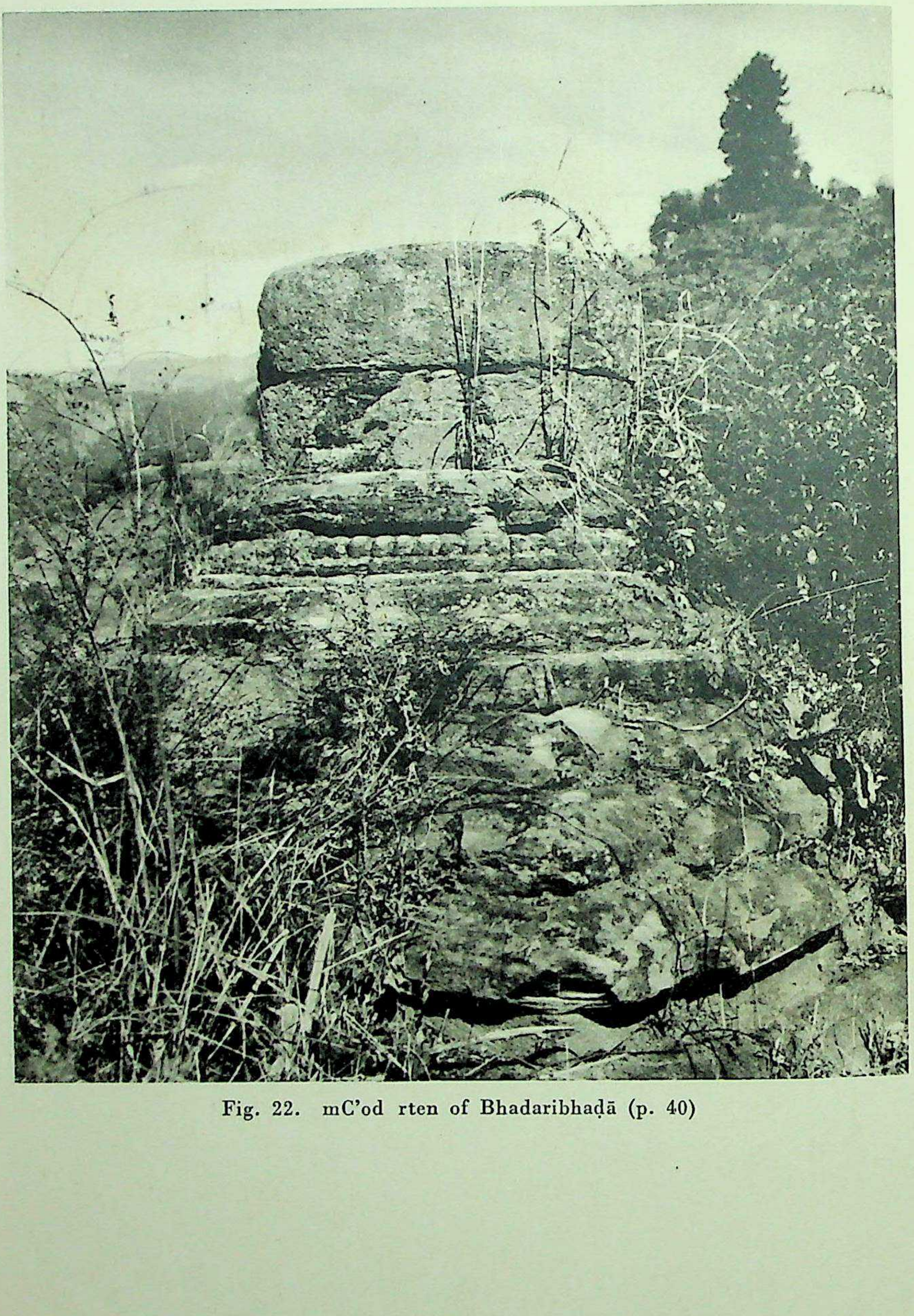

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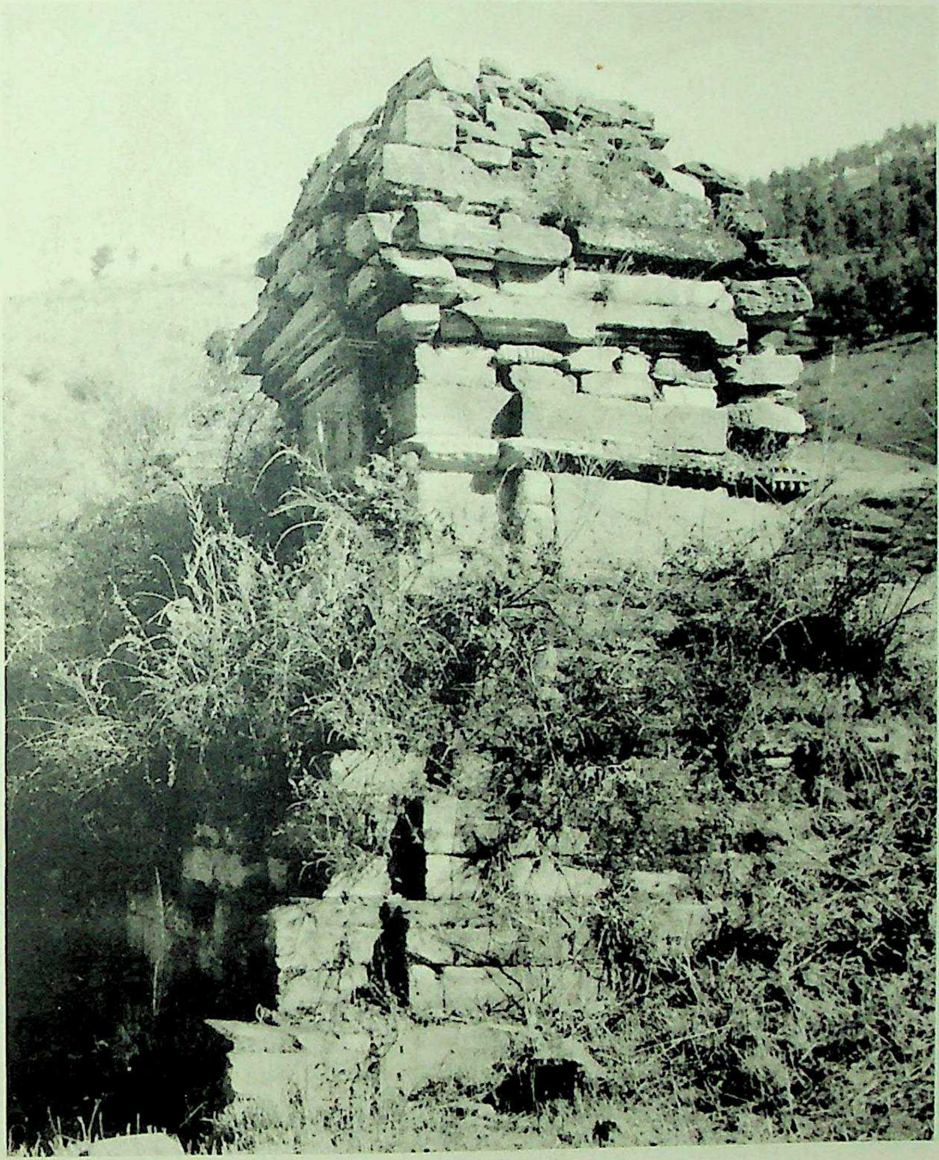

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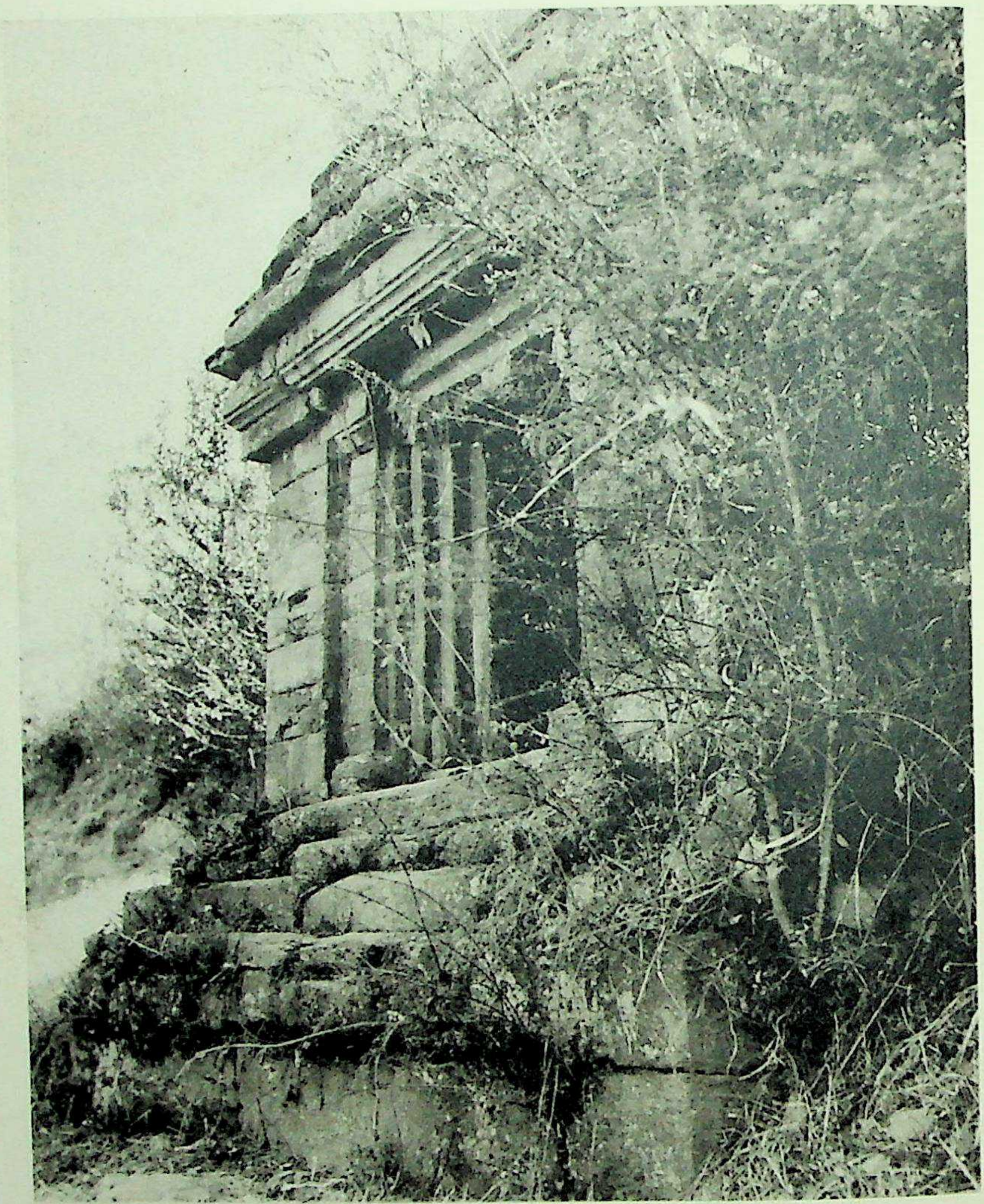

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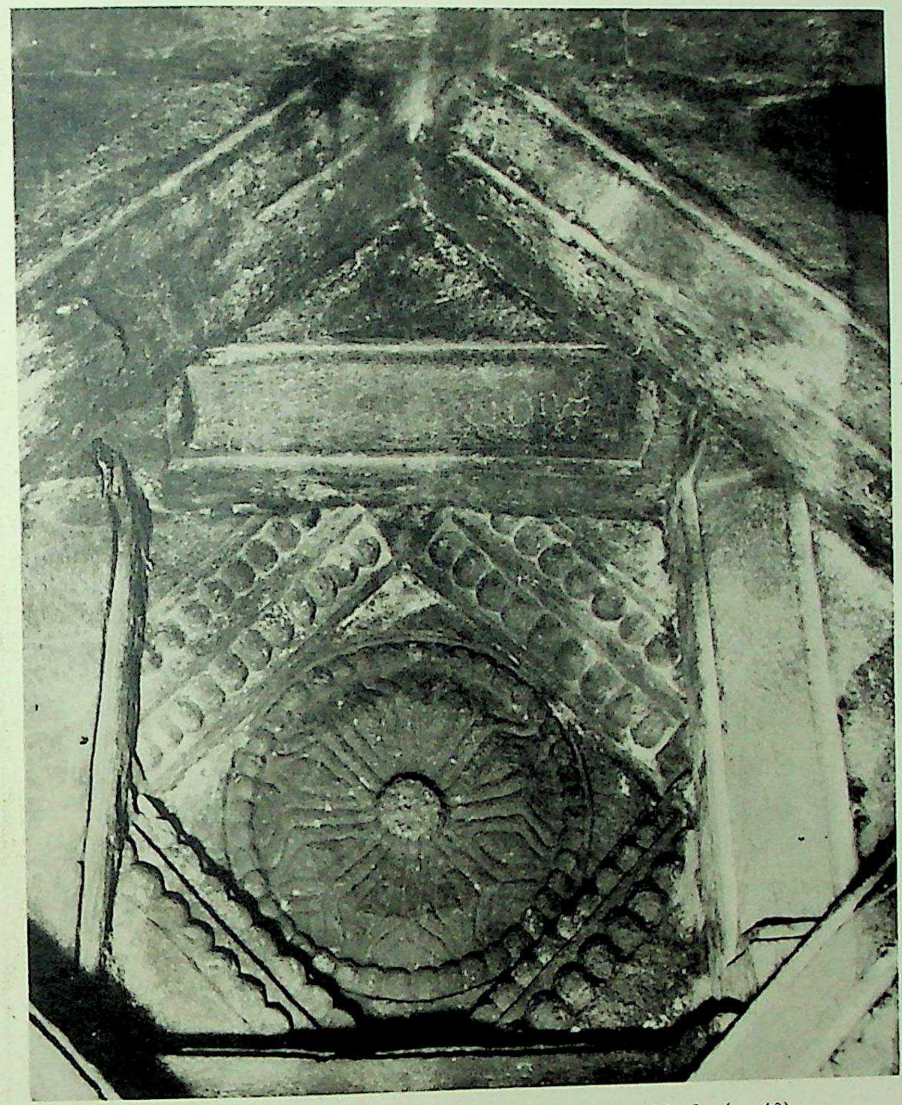

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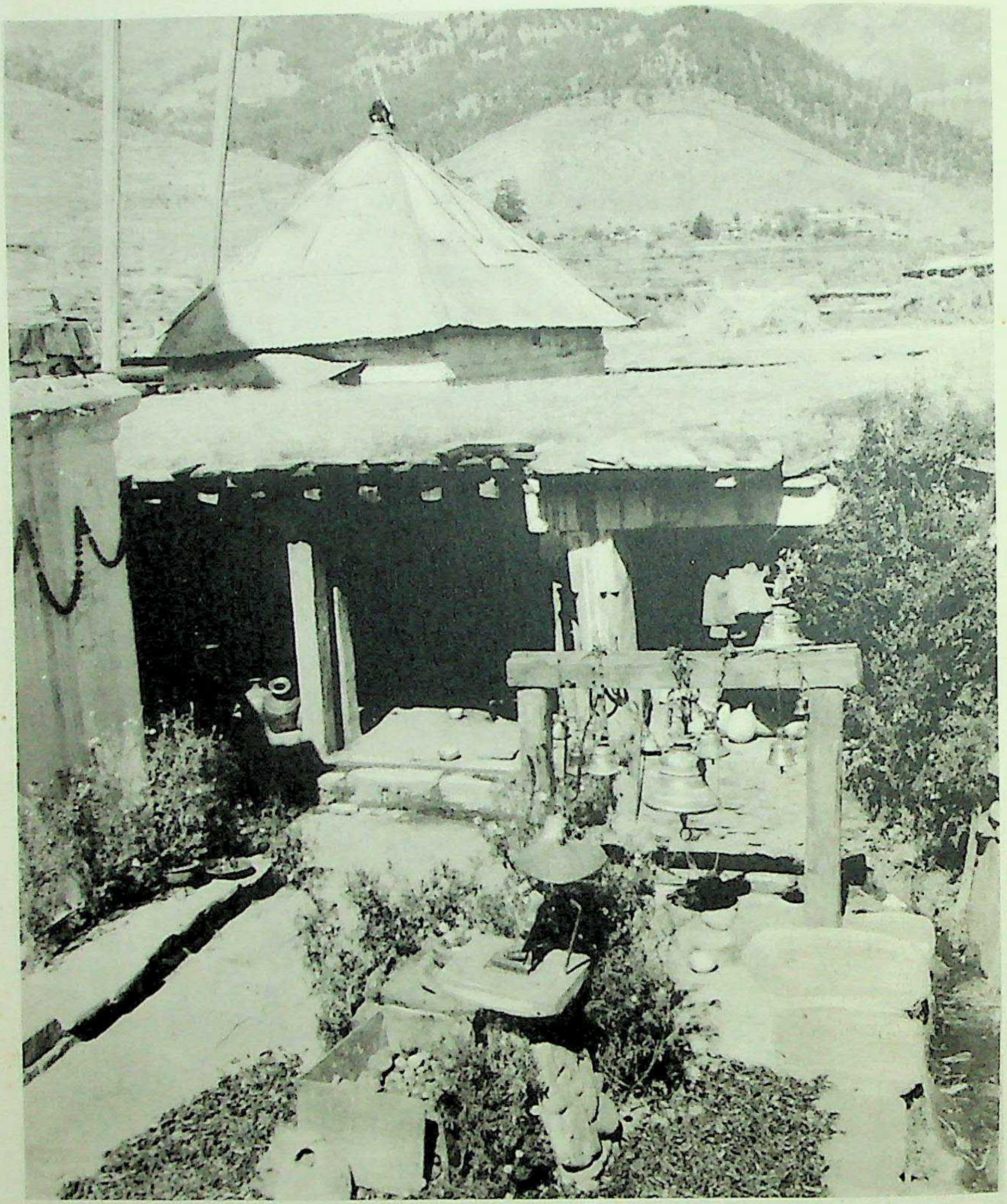

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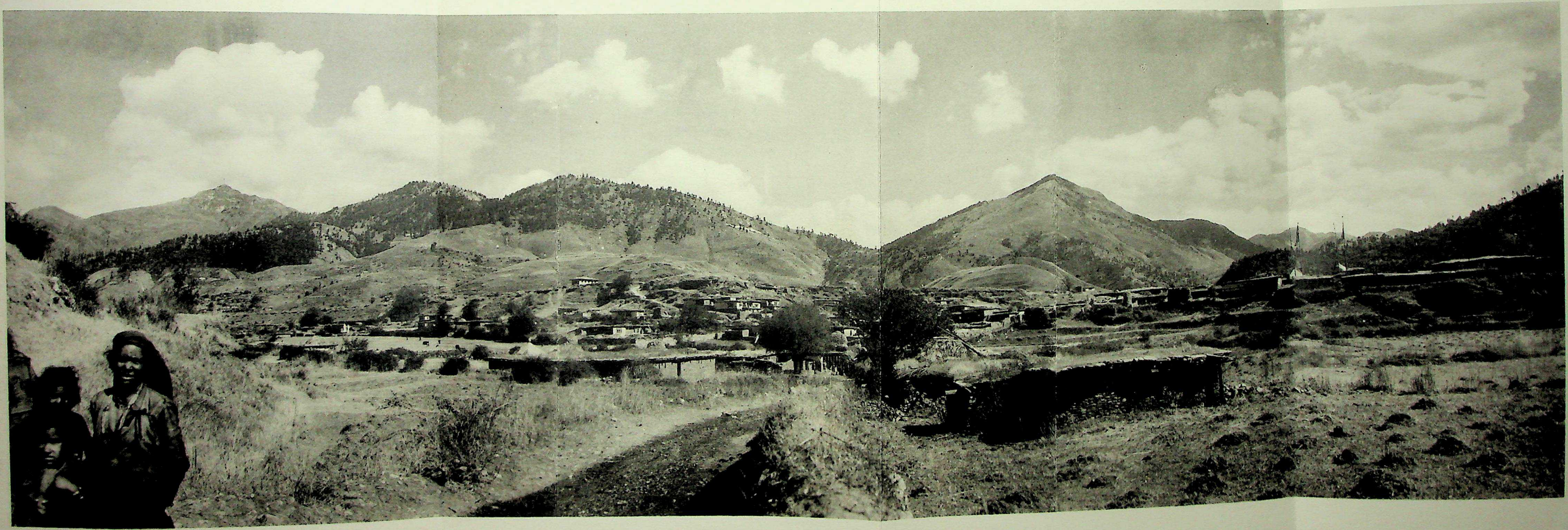

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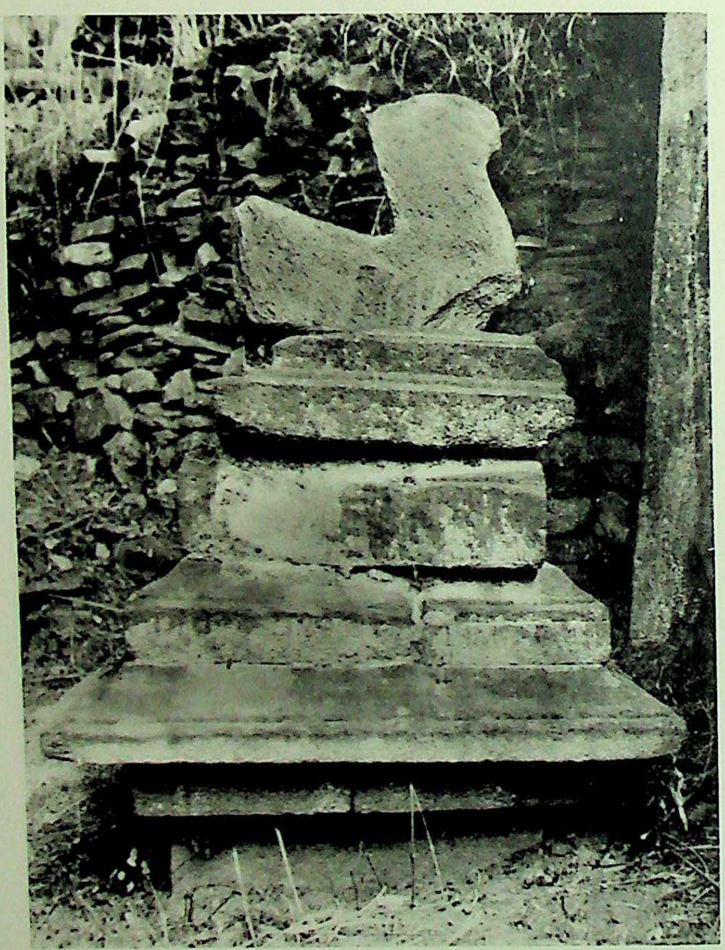

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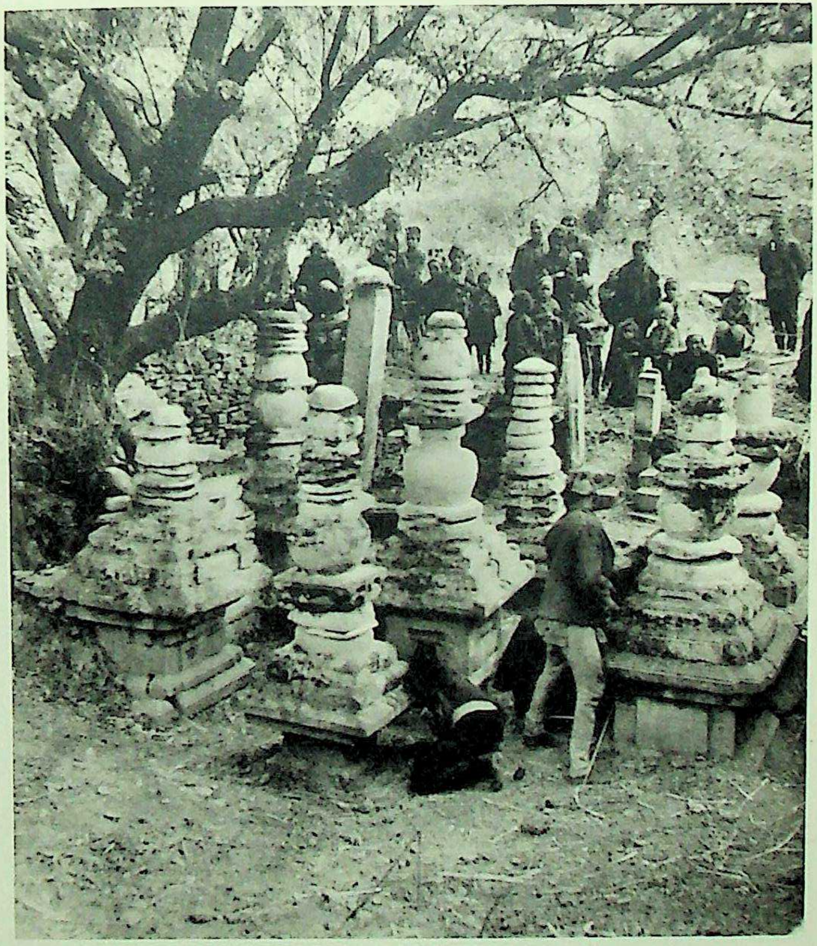

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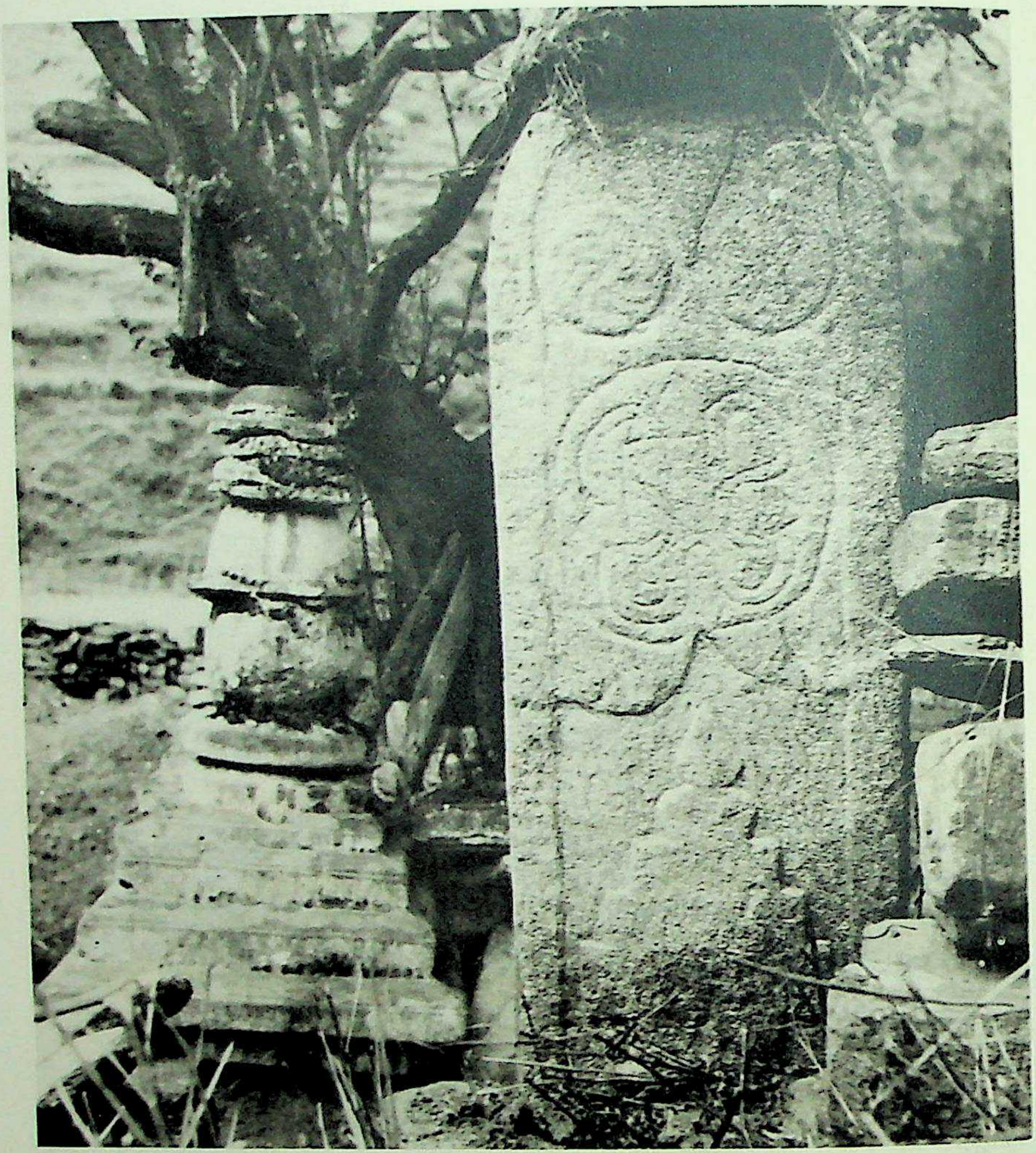

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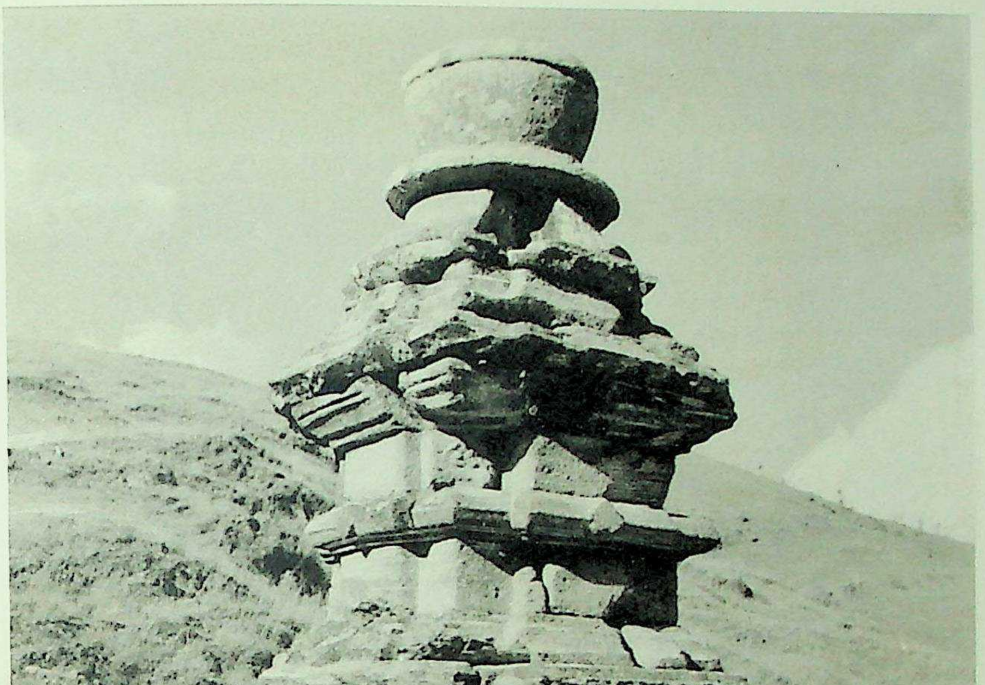

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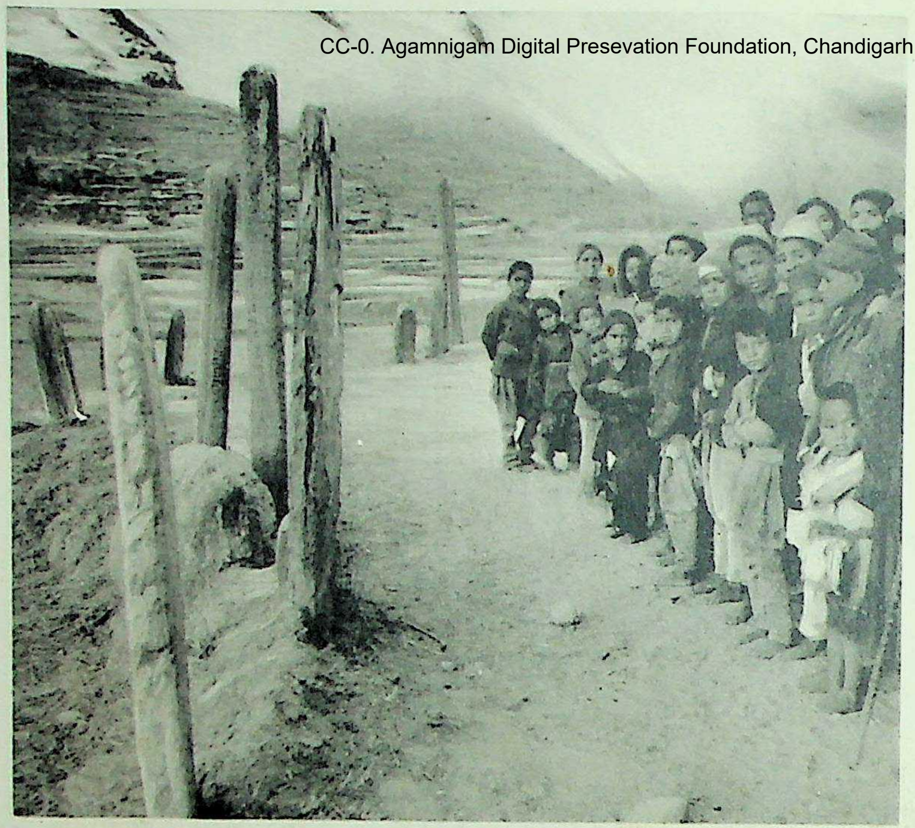

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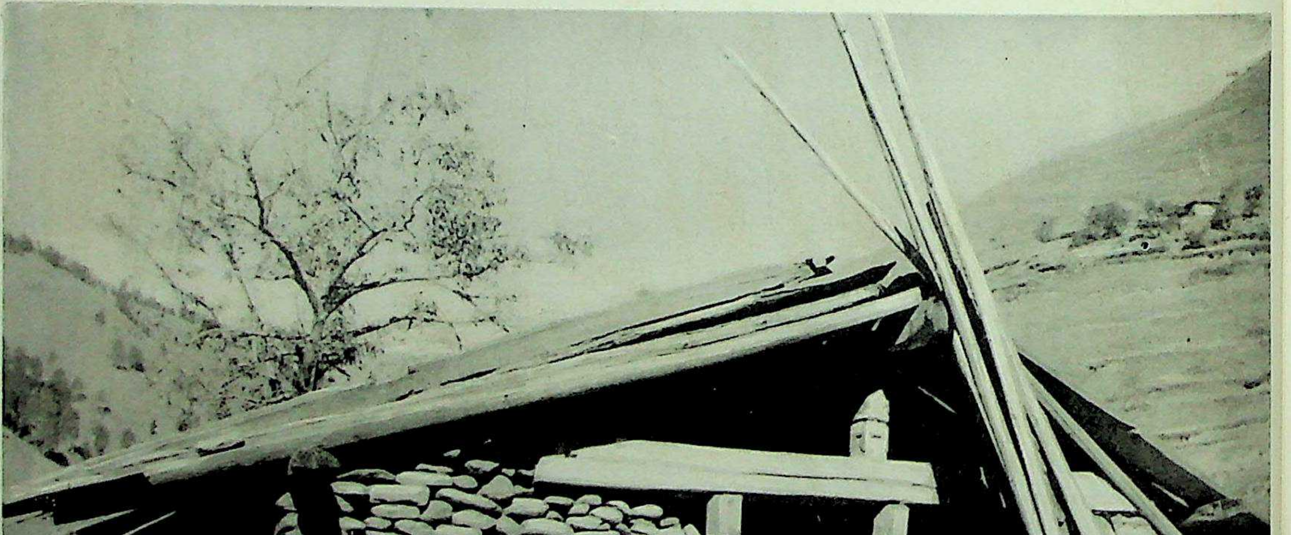

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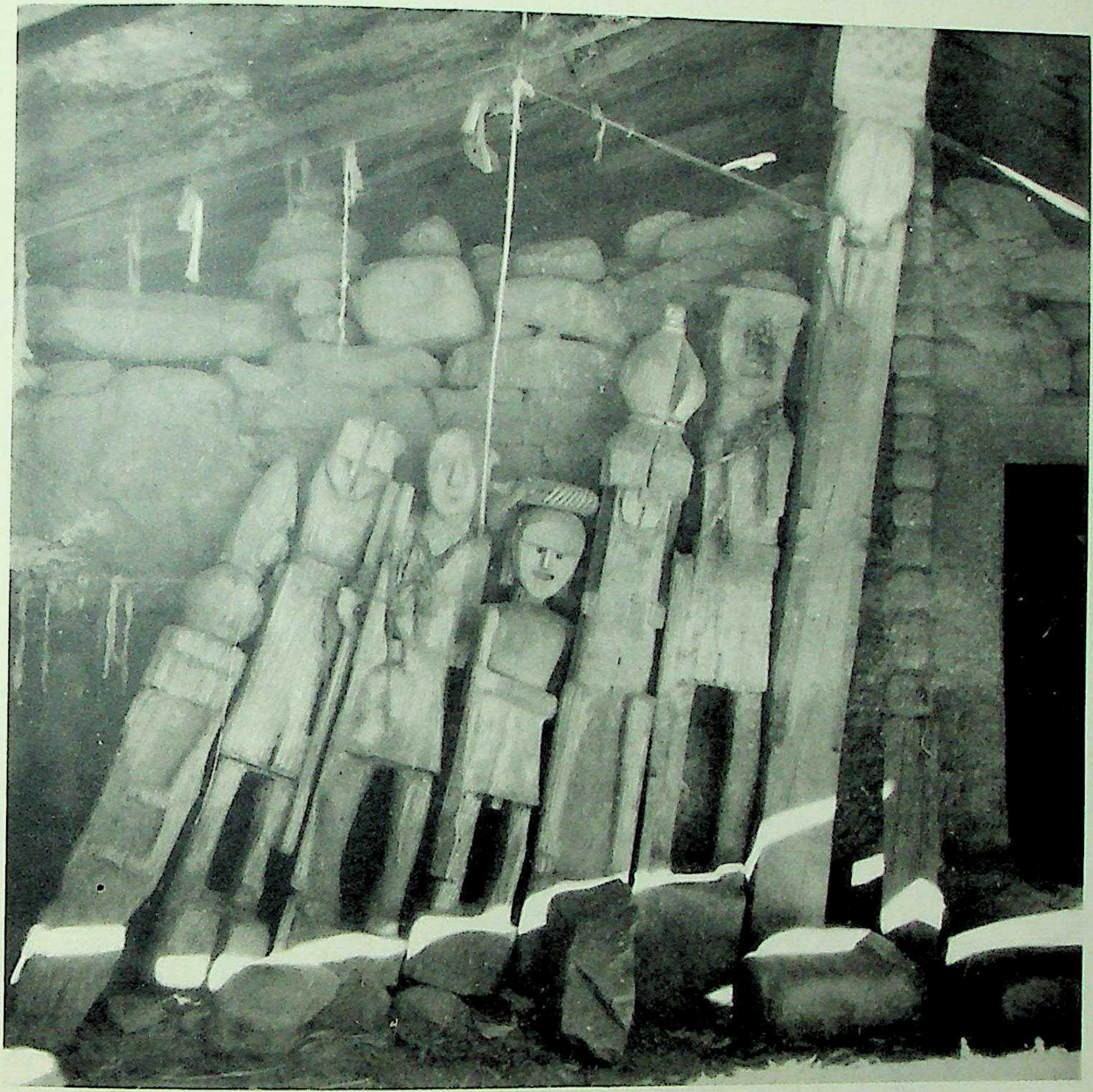

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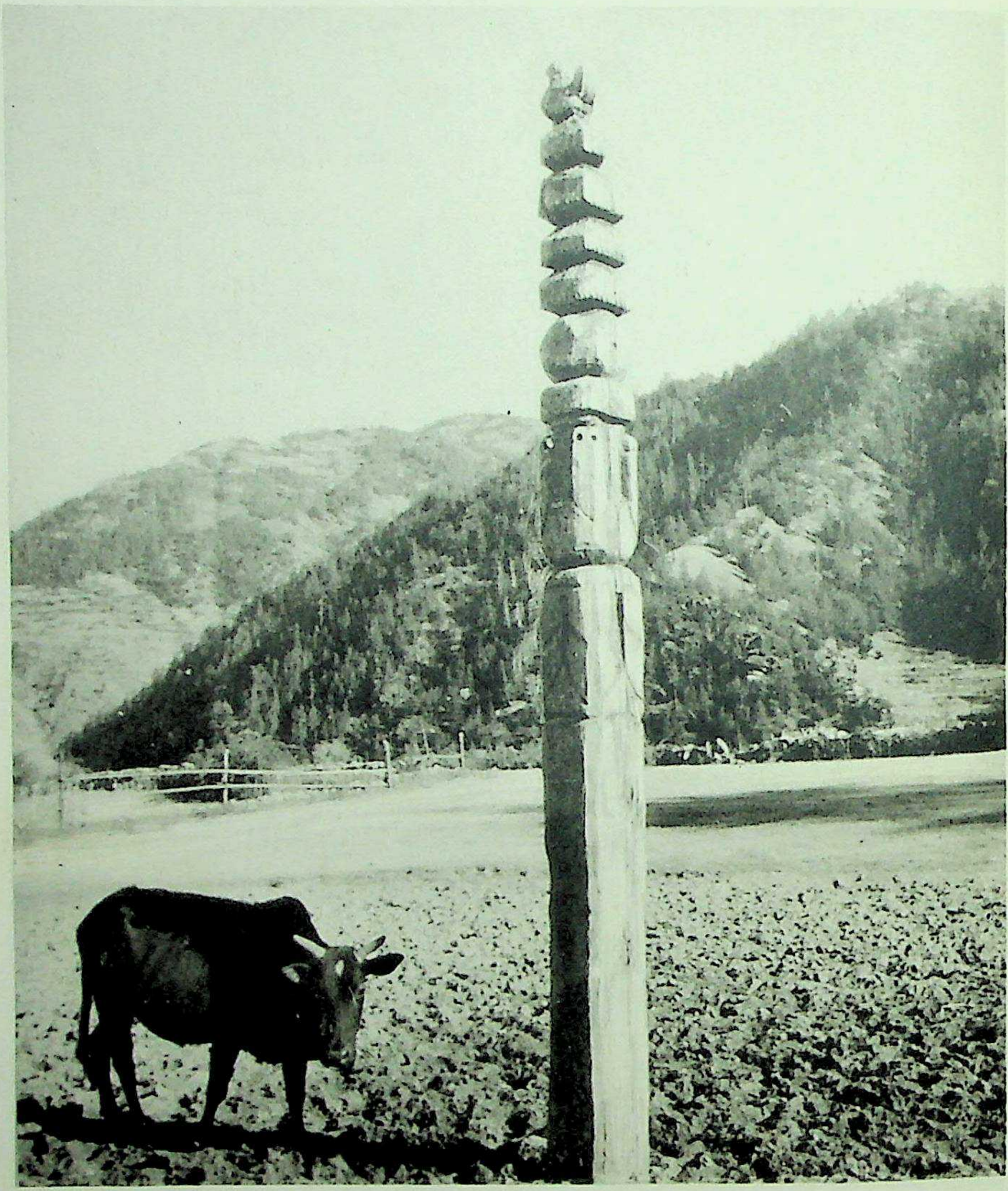

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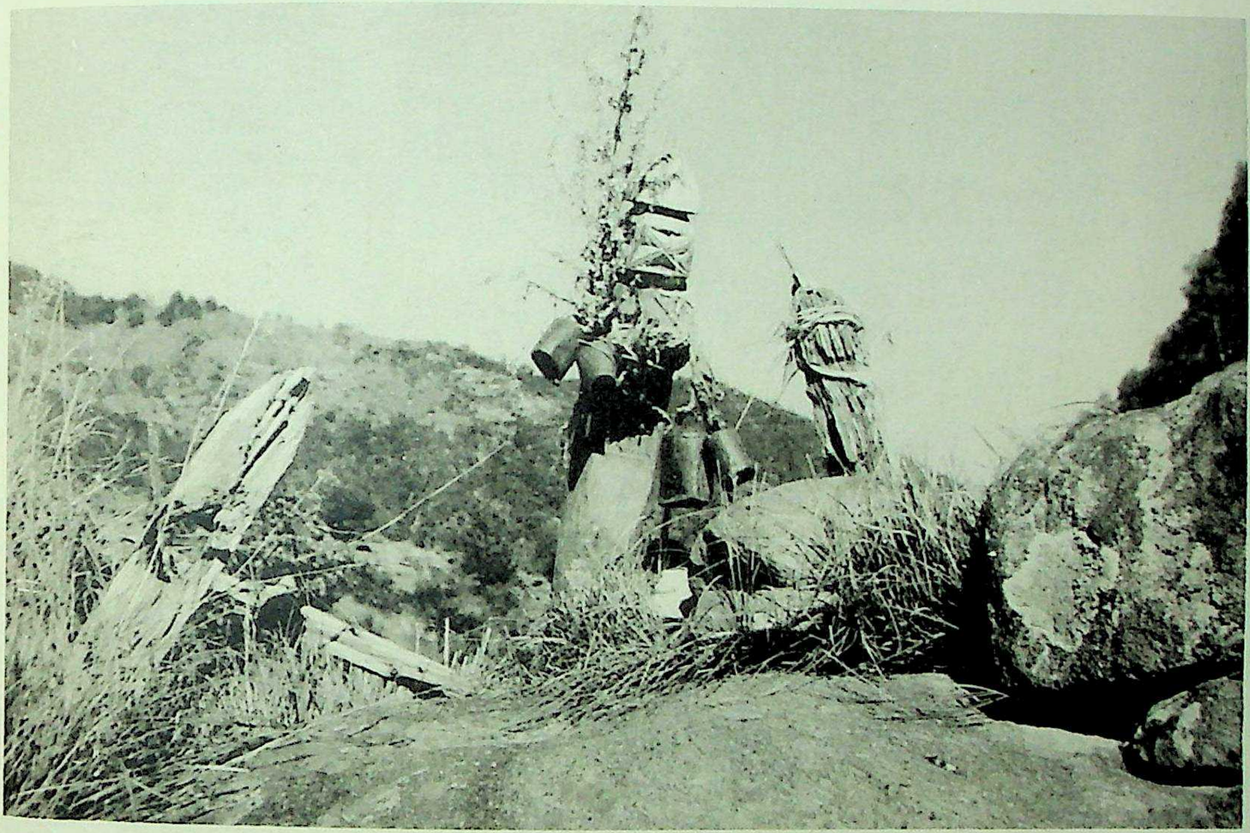

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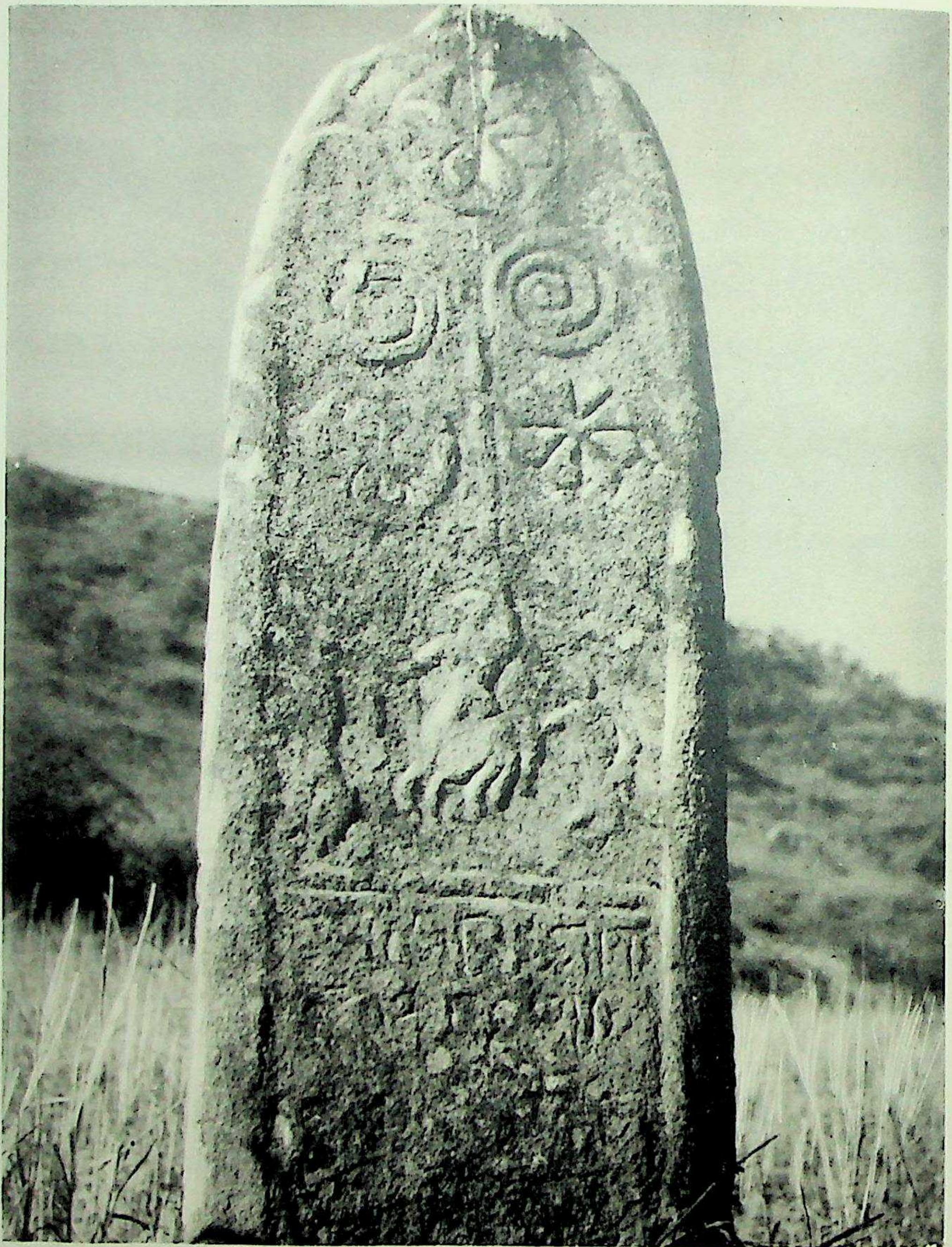

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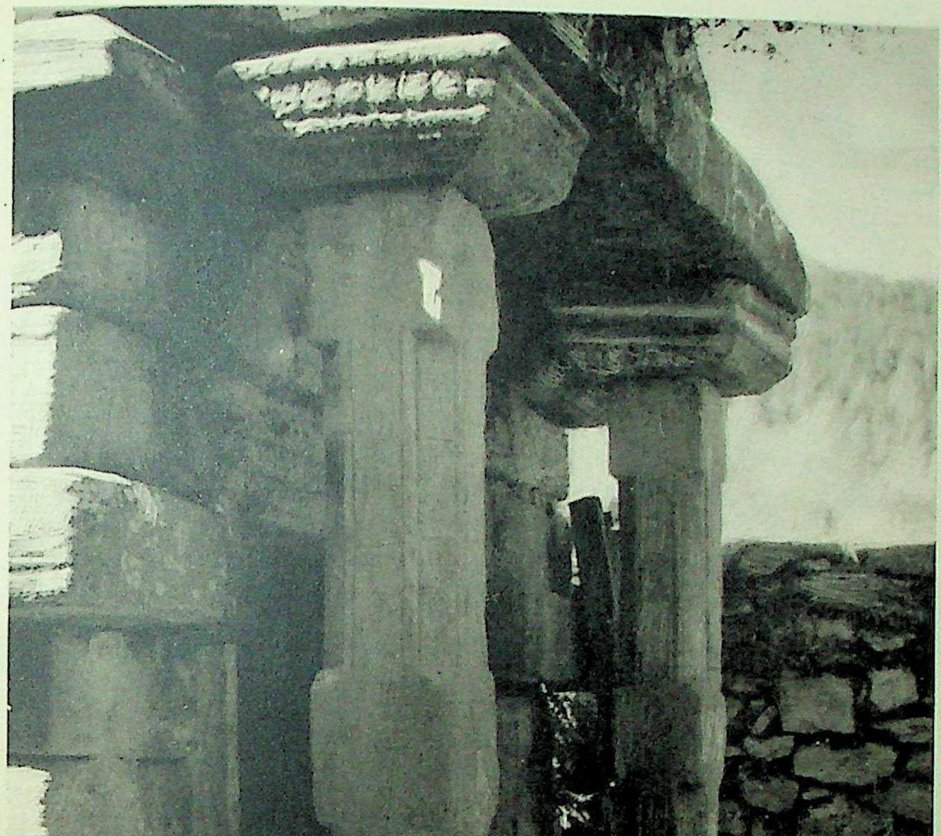

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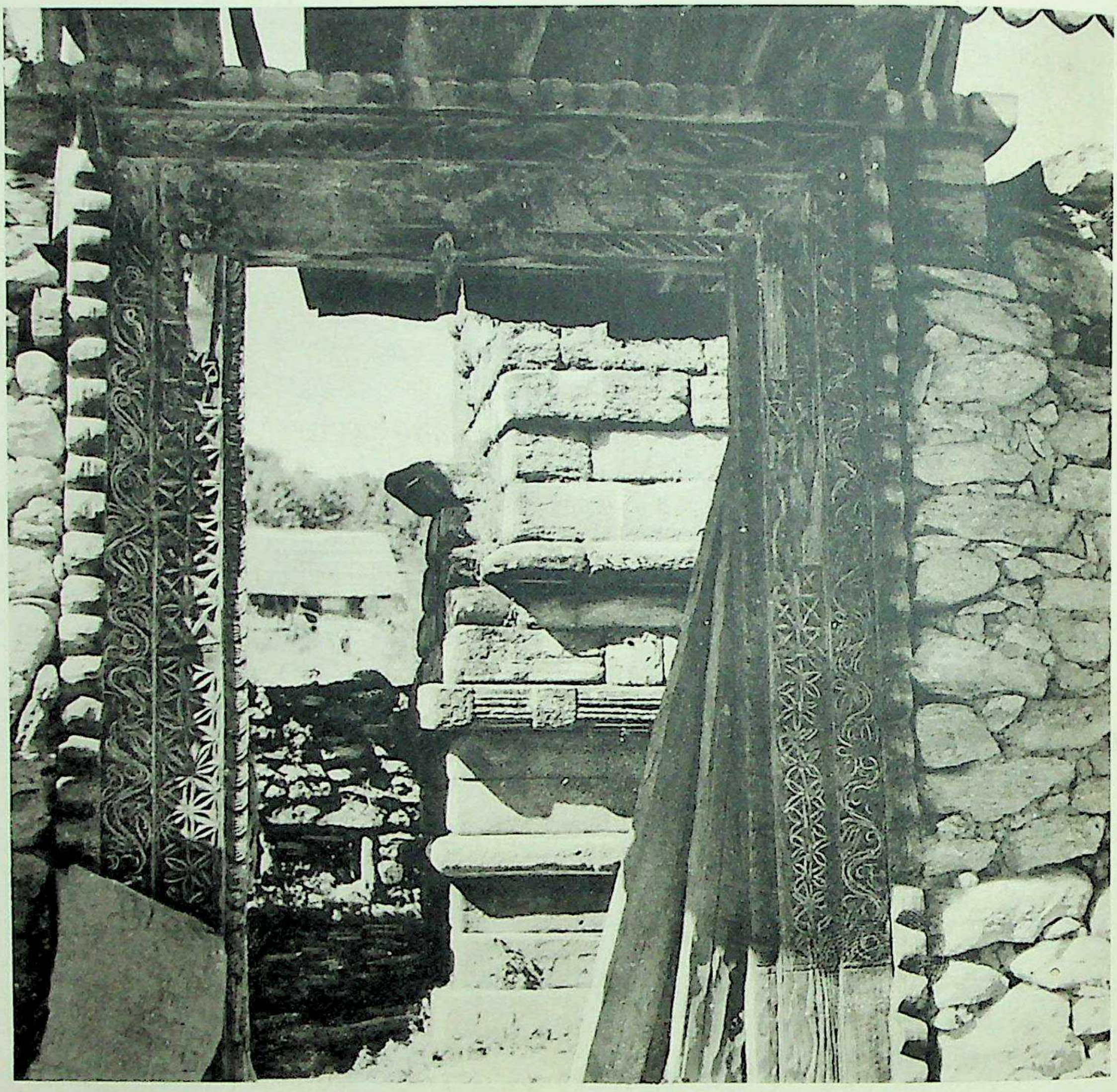

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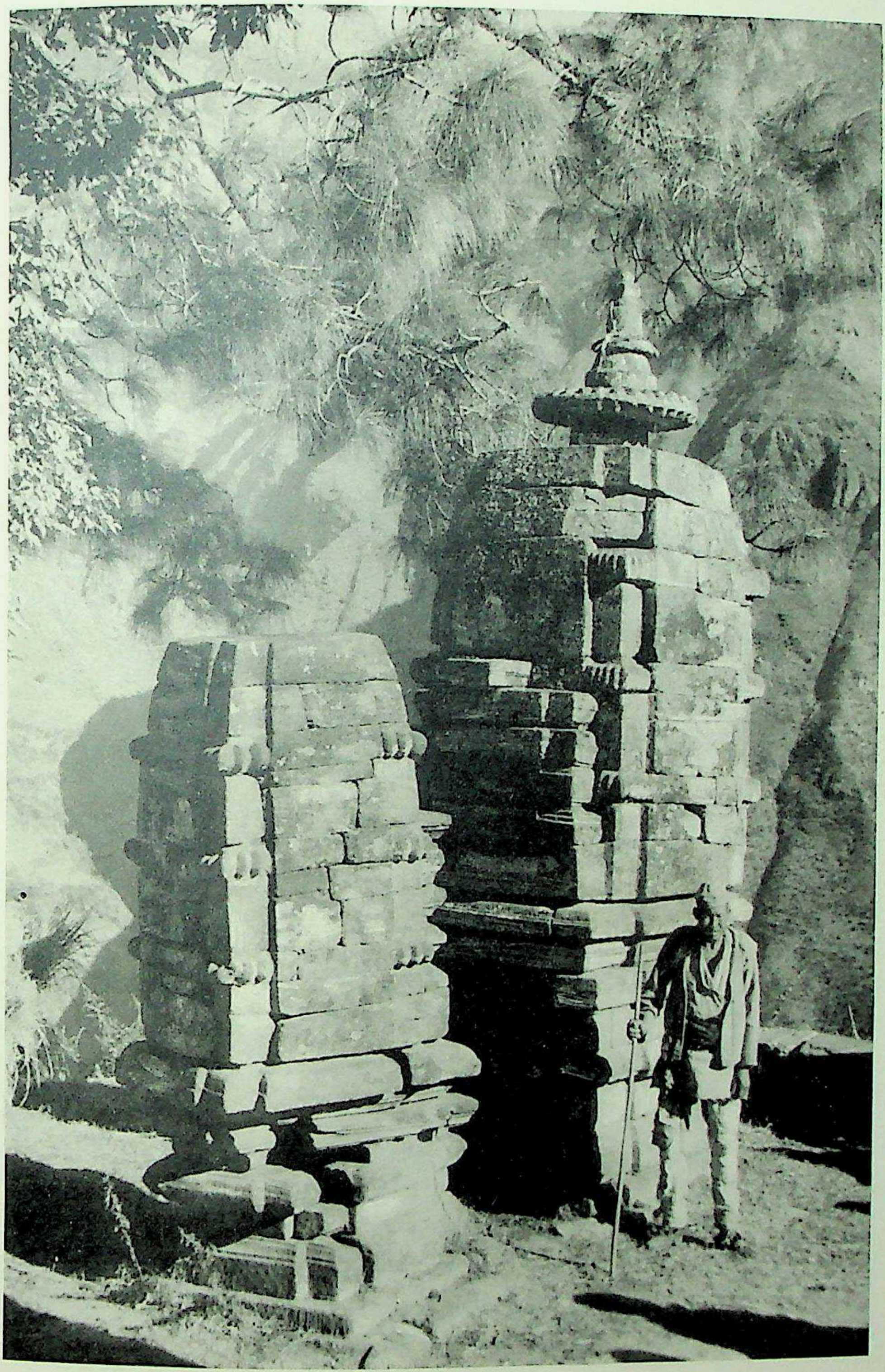

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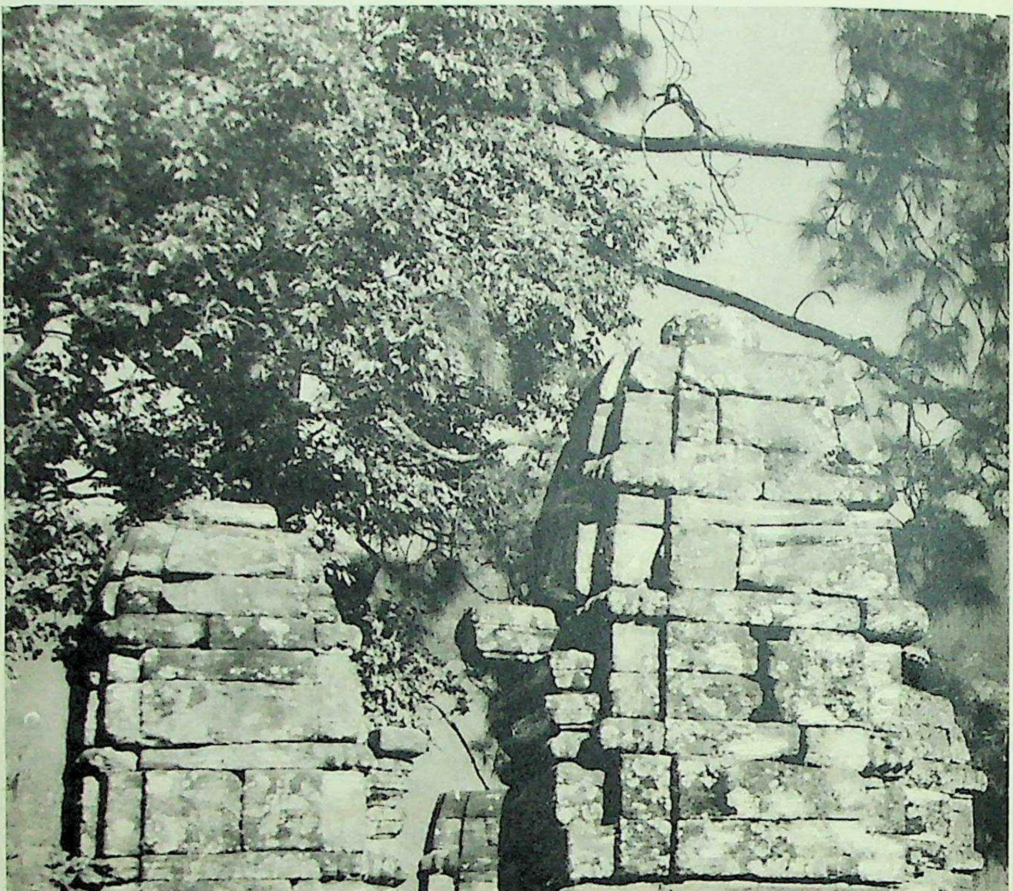

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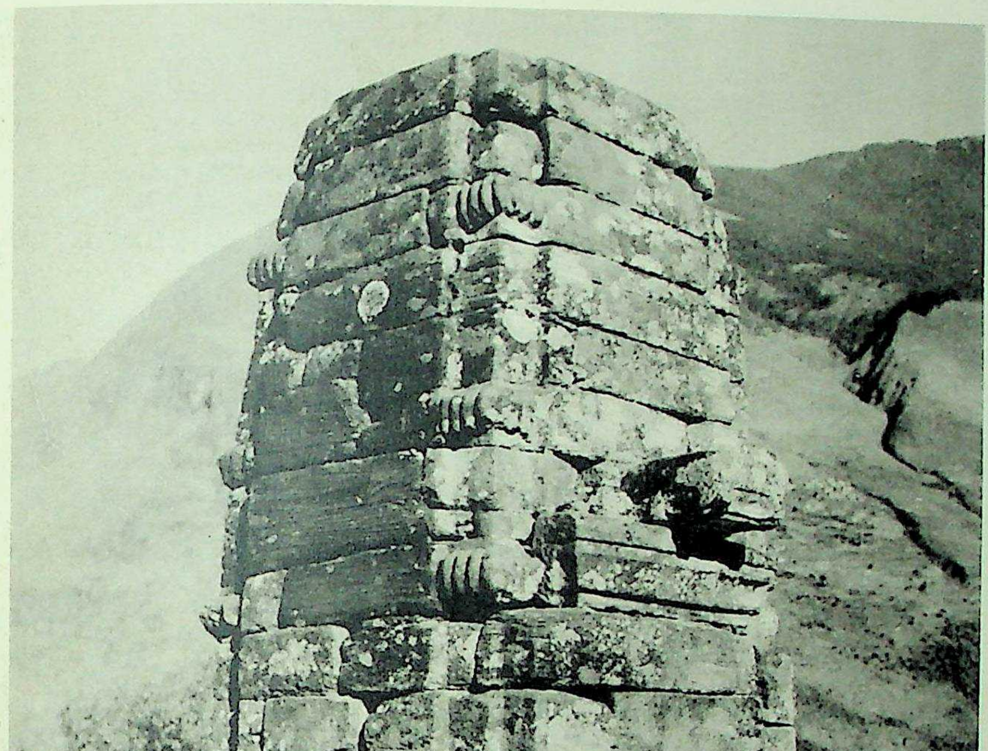

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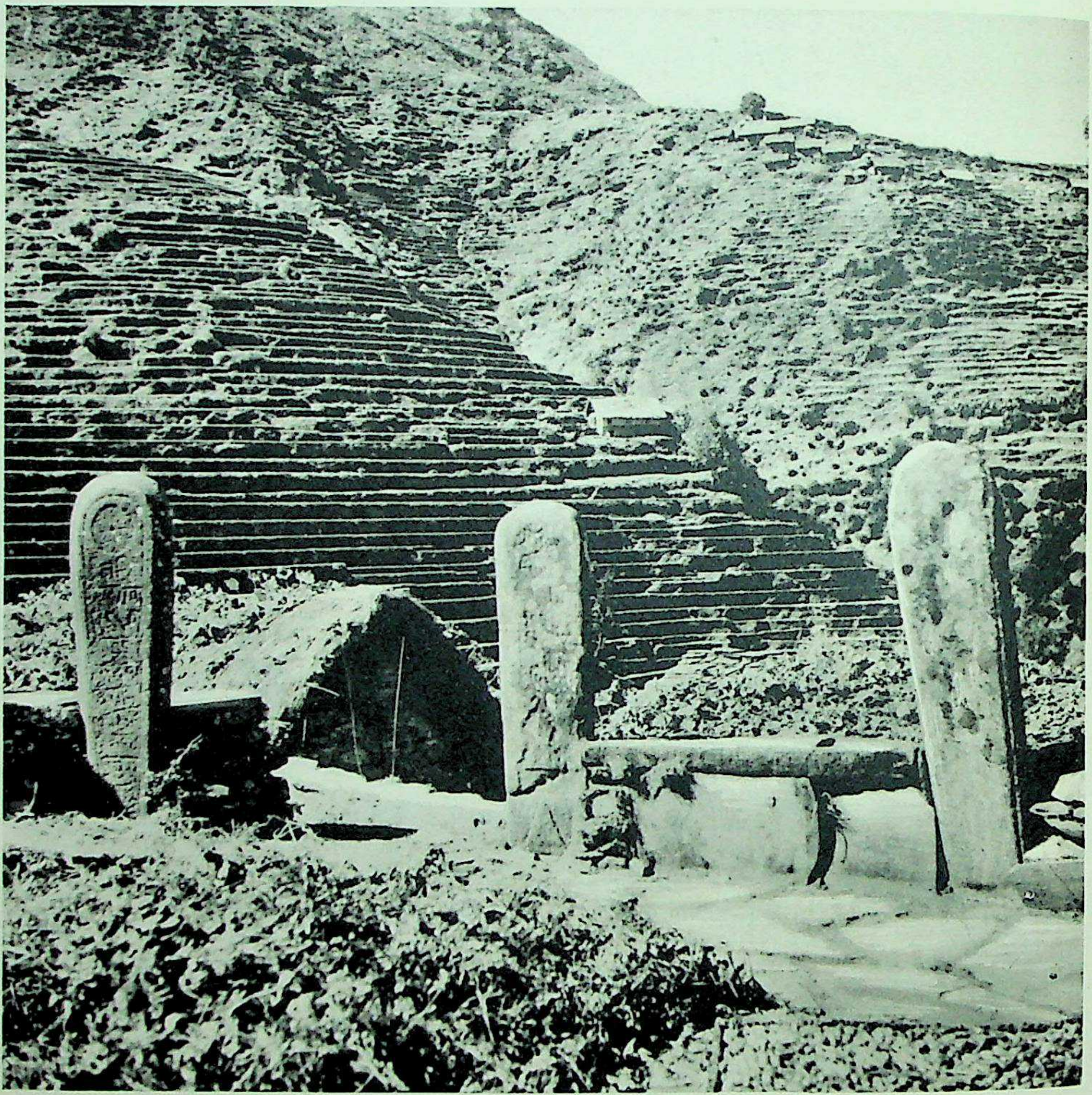

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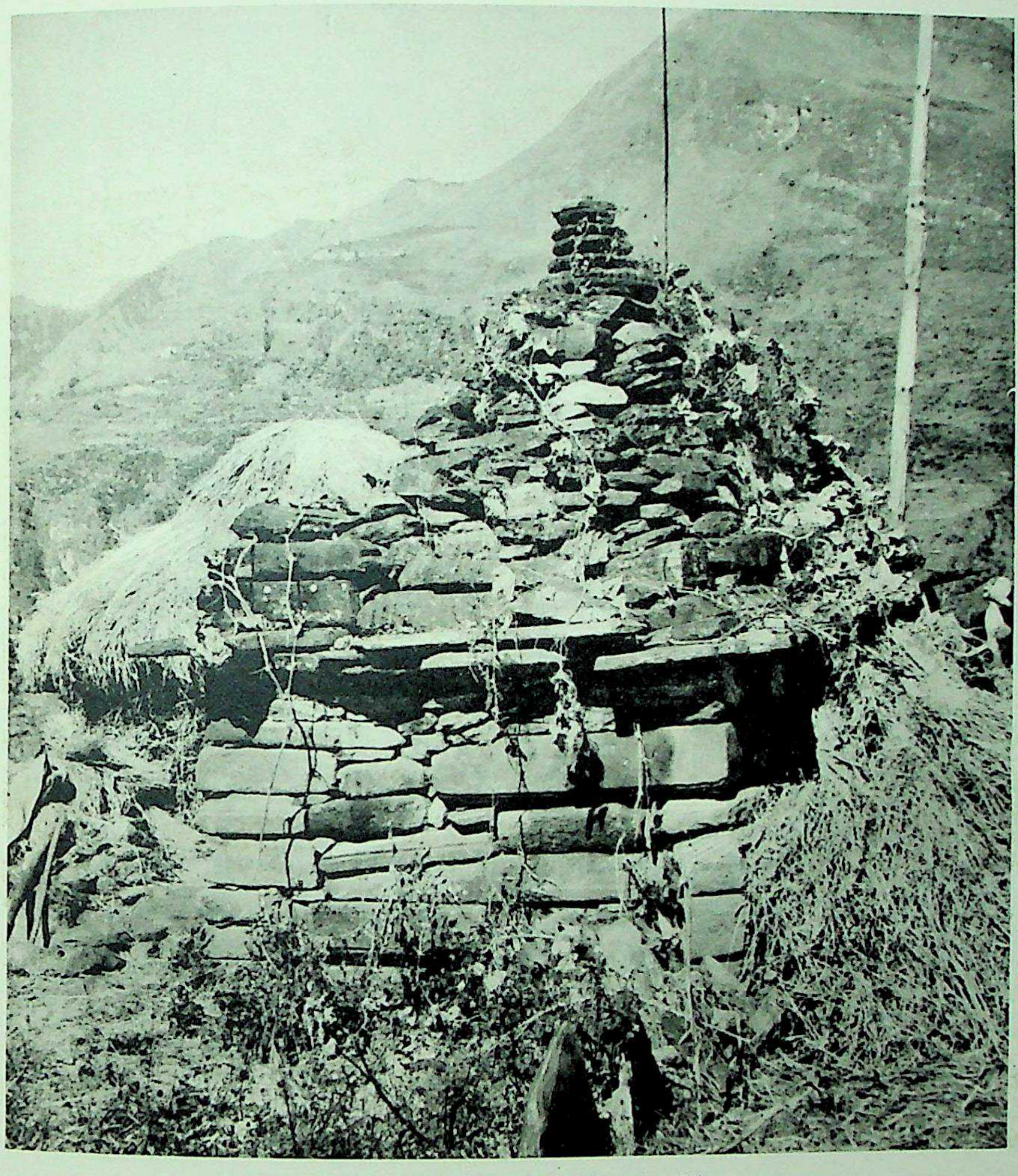

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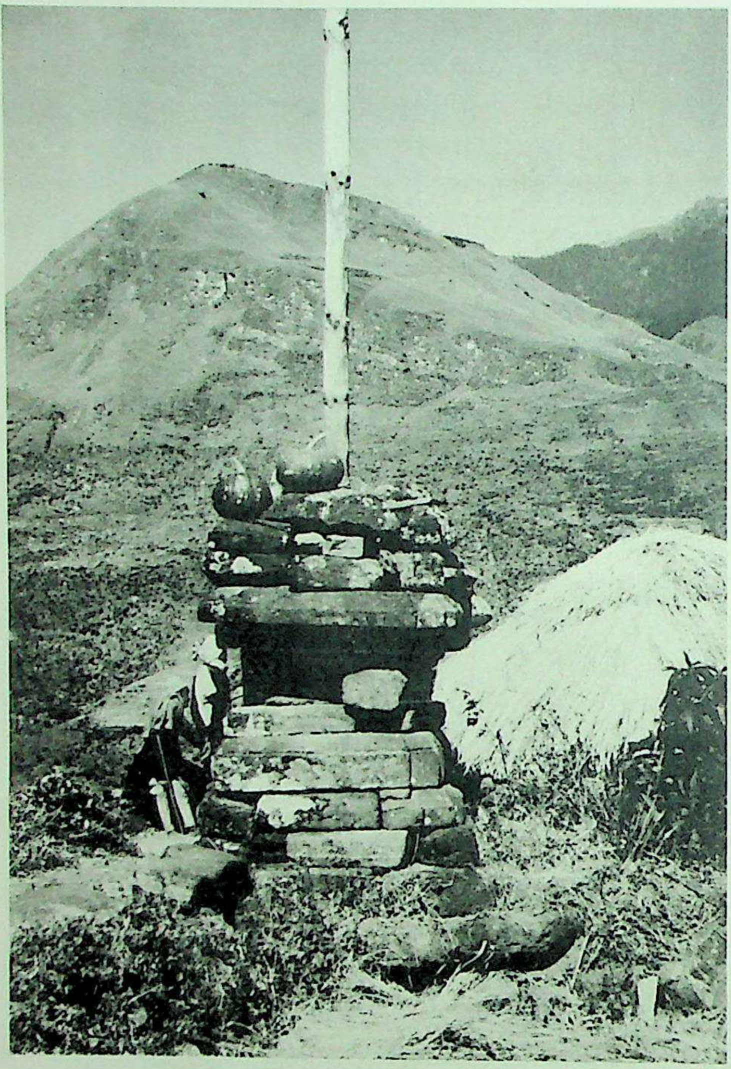

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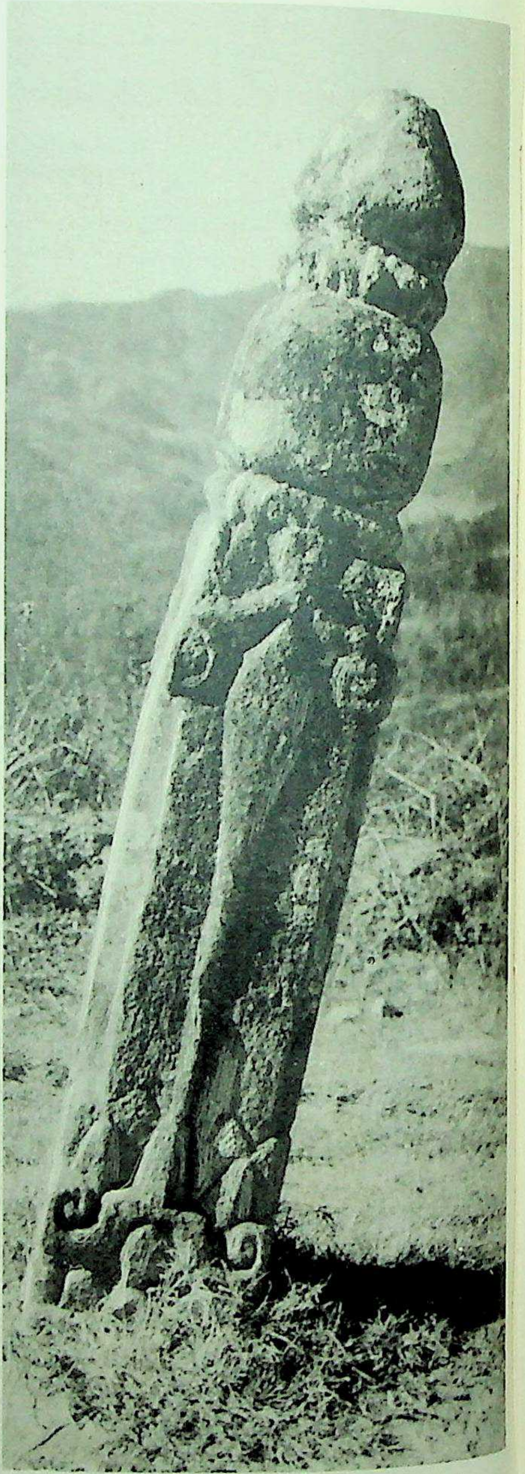

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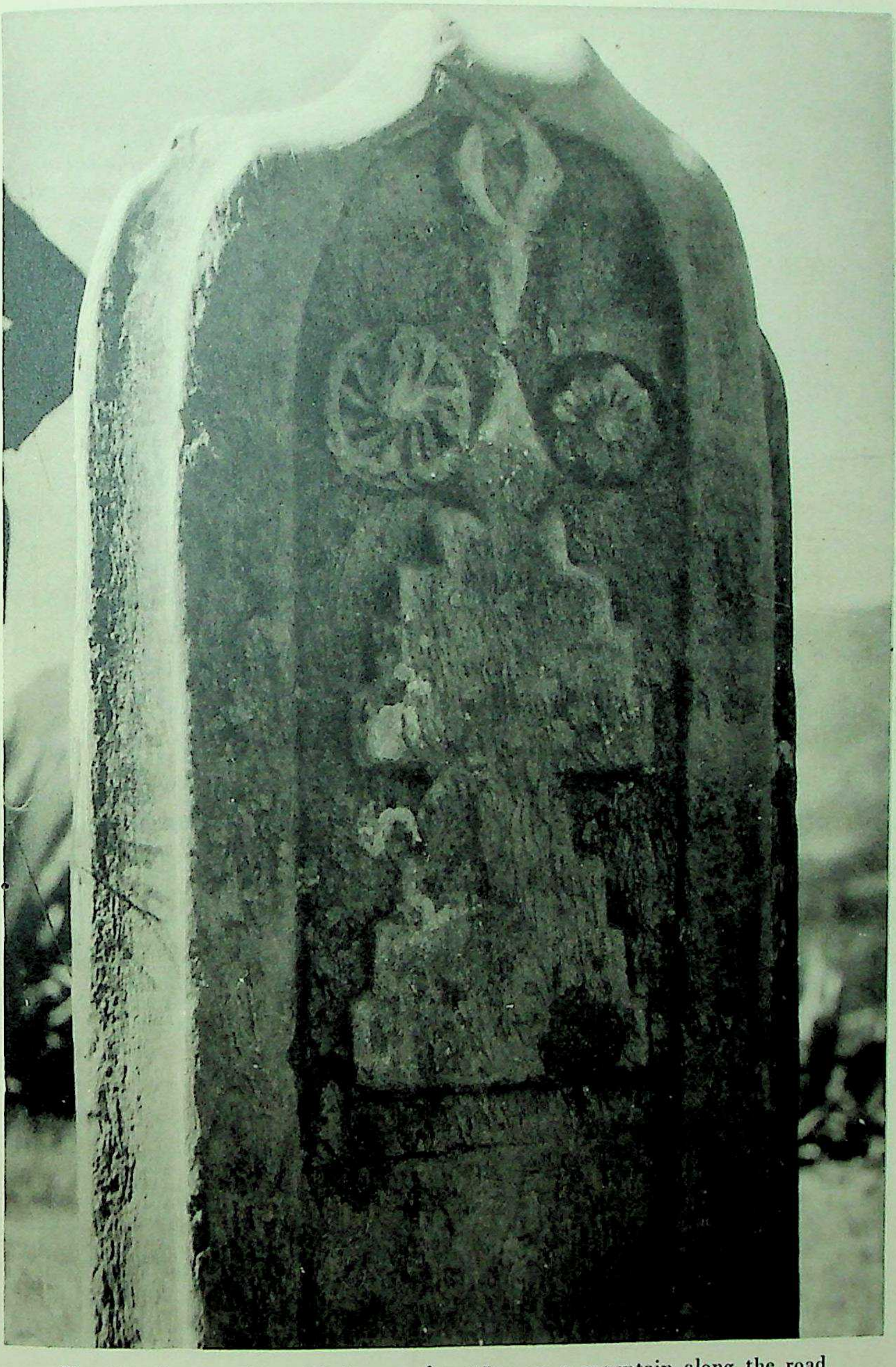

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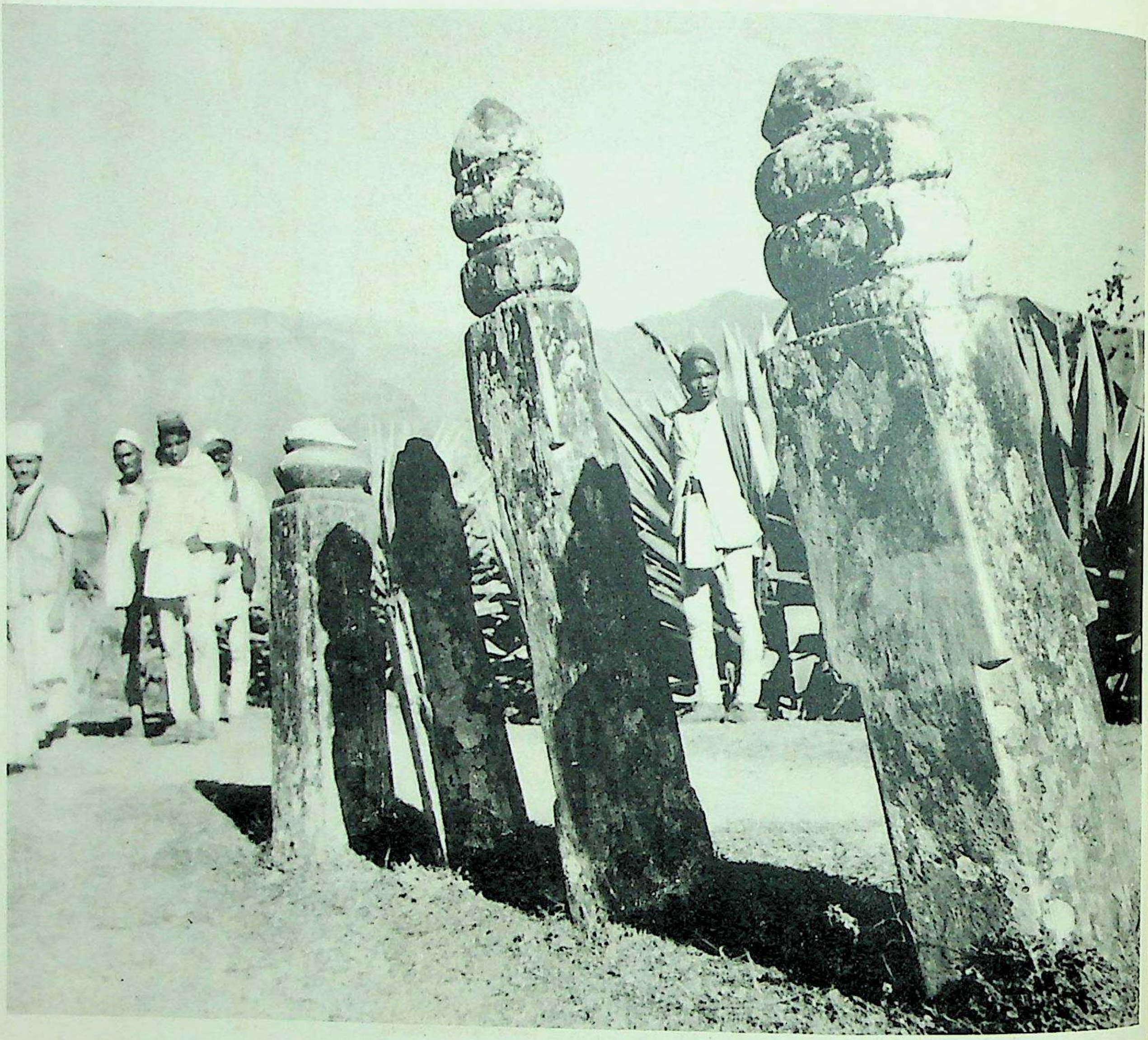

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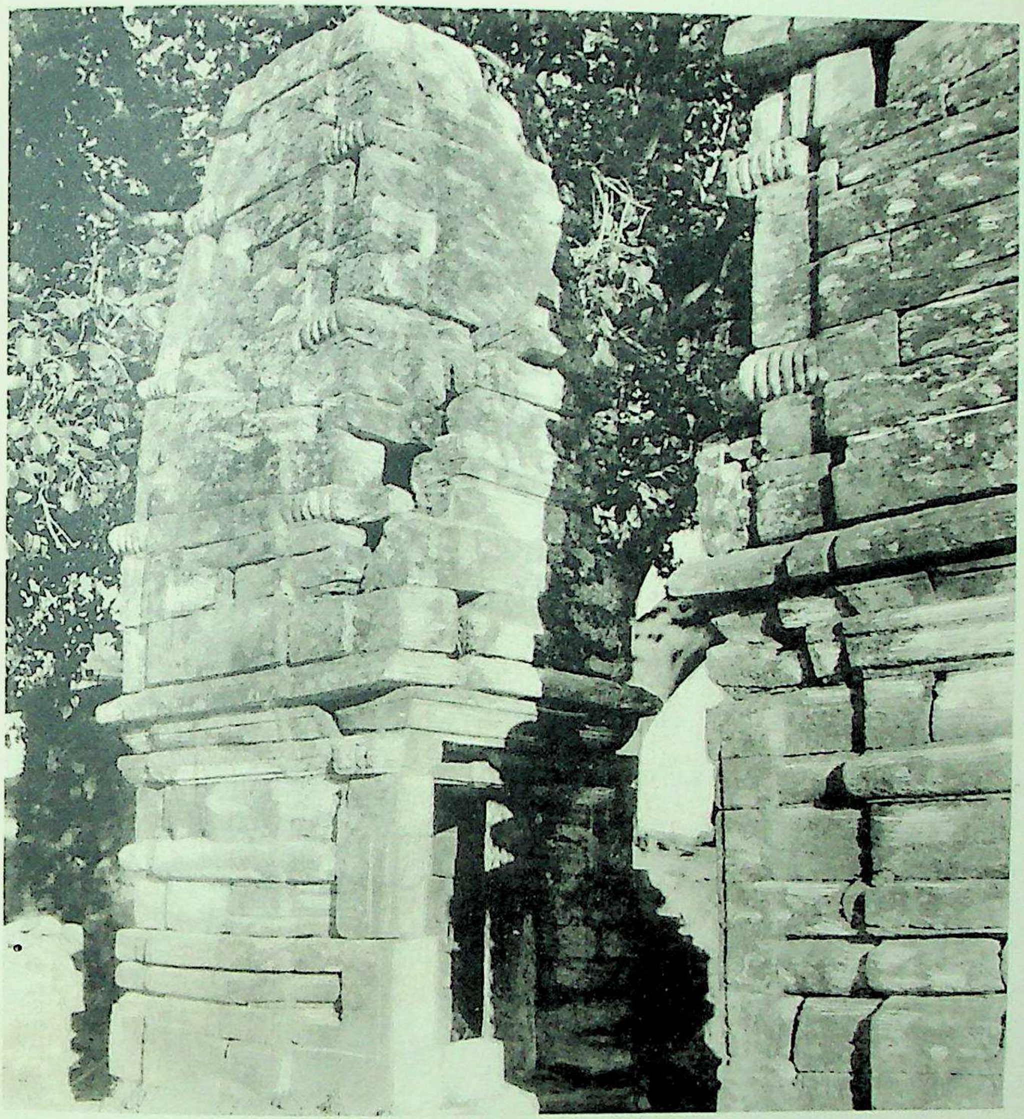

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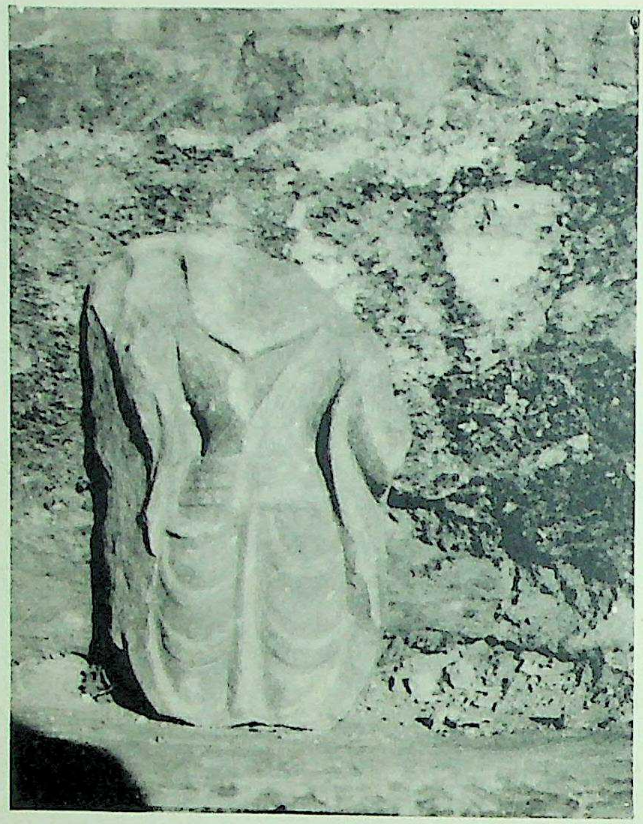

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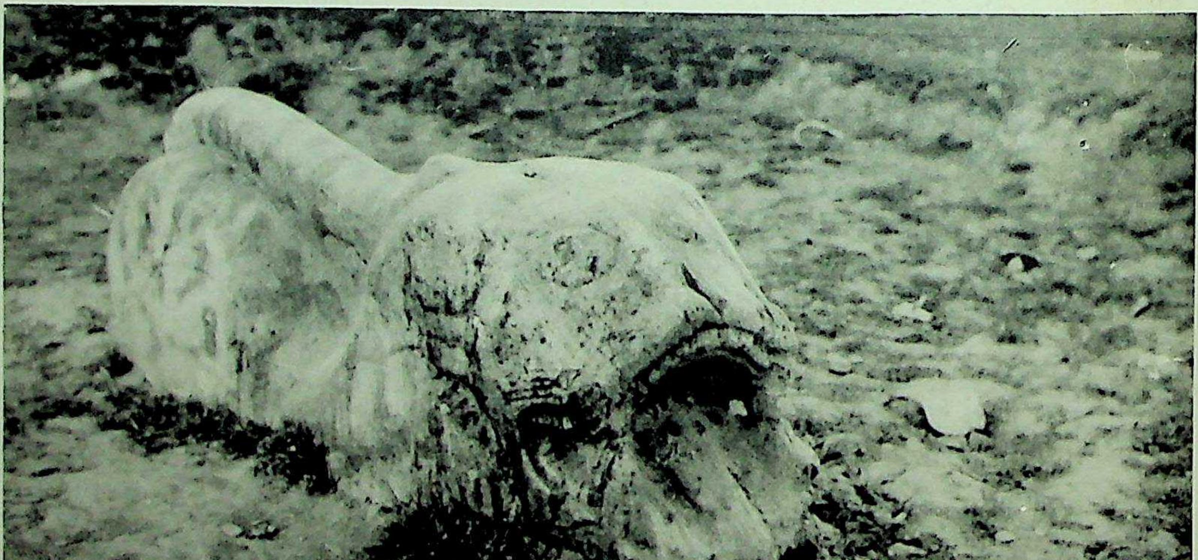


Fig. 51. Stone lion in Dullu (p. 44)

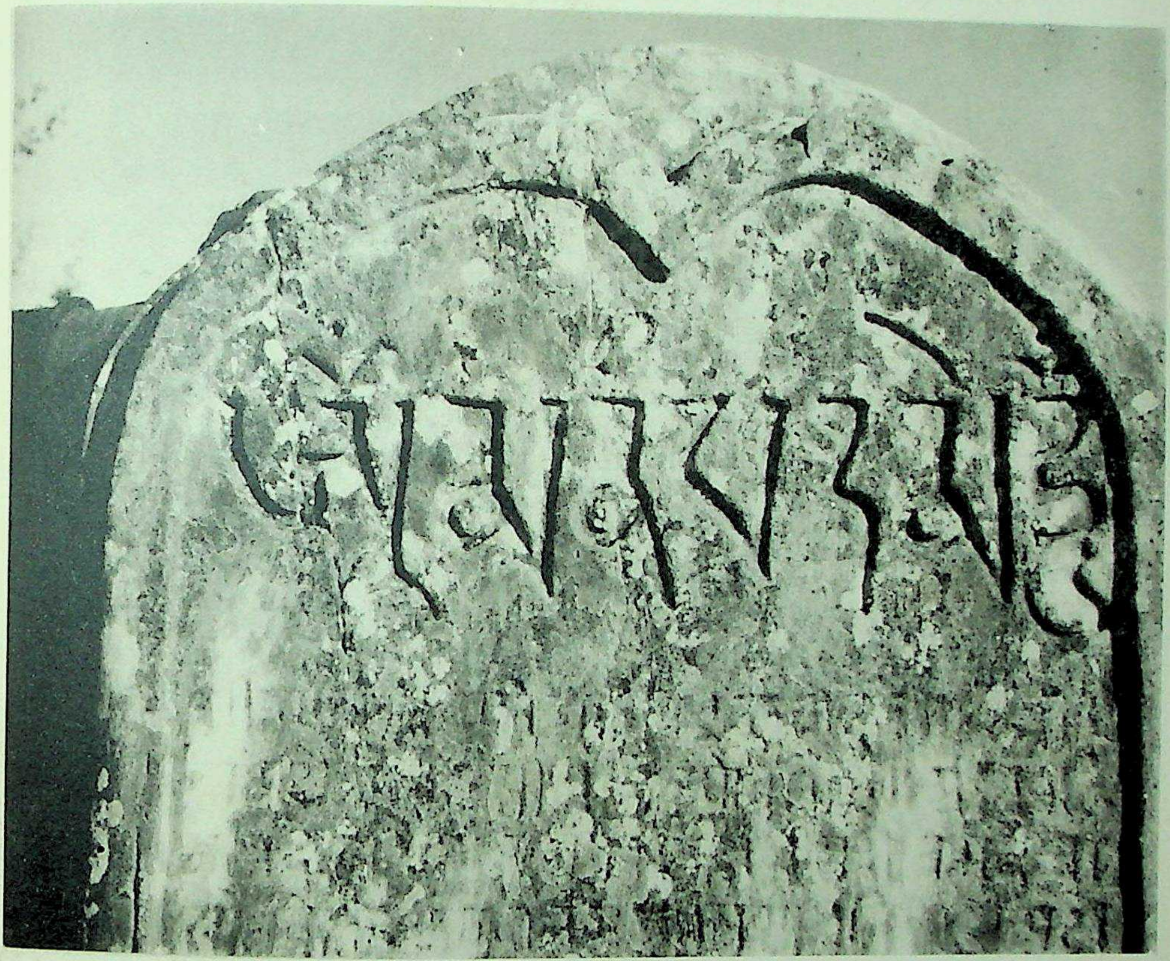


Fig. 52. Stela in Dullu with buddhist mantra in Tibetan characters (p. 44)

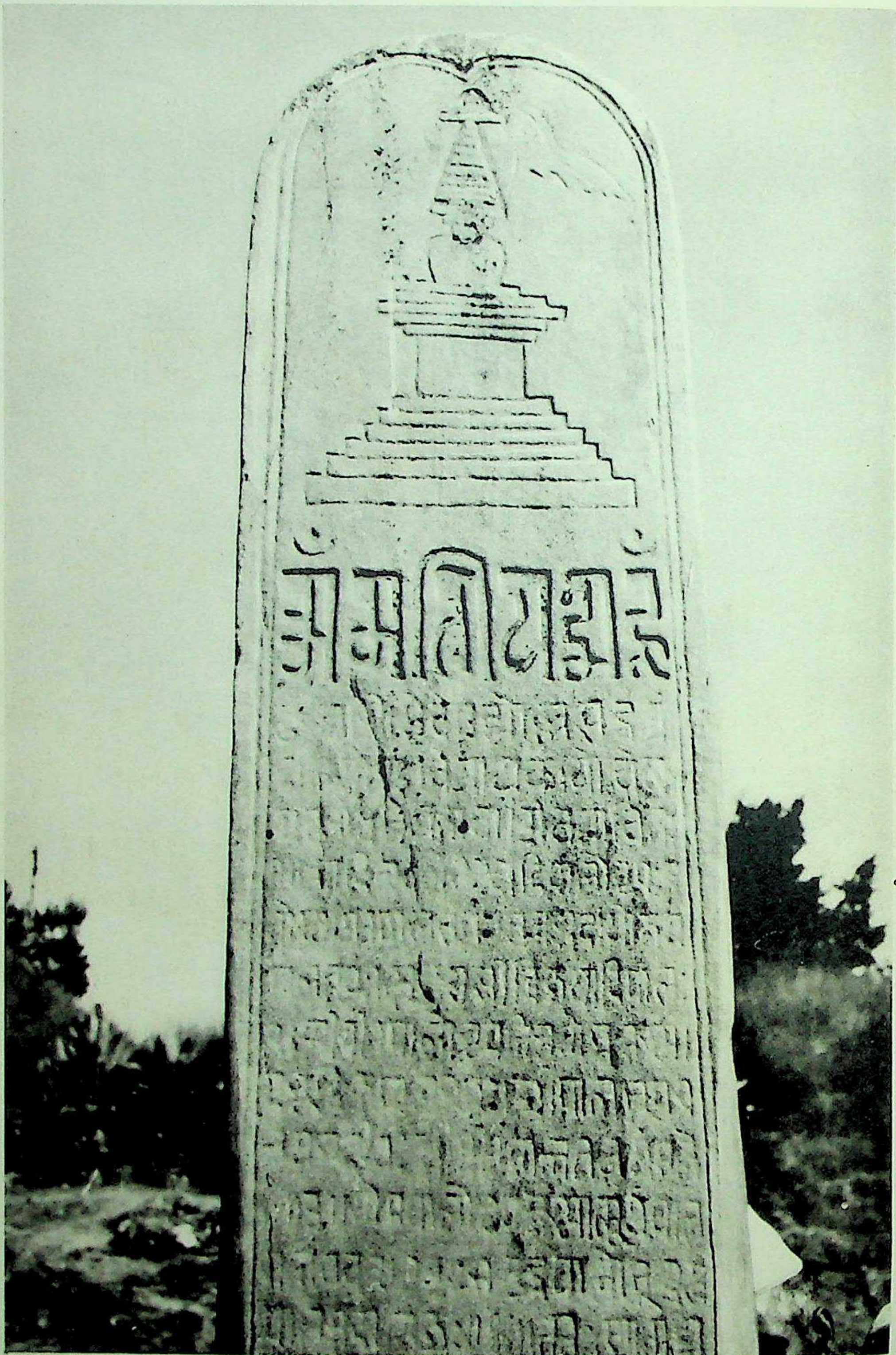


Fig. 53. The stela of Dullu containing the genealogy of the Mallas (p. 46)

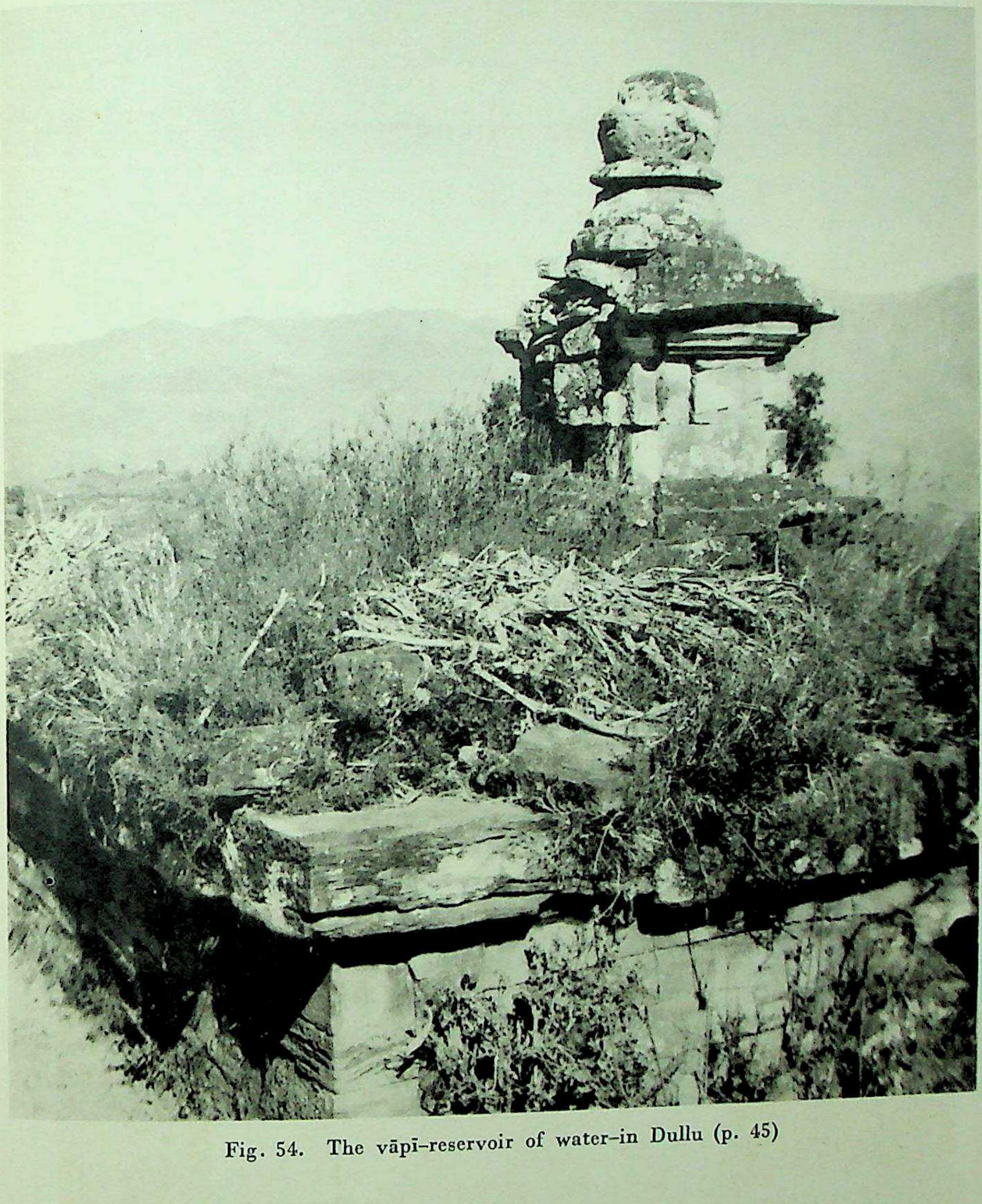


Fig. 54. The vāpī–reservoir of water–in Dullu (p. 45)

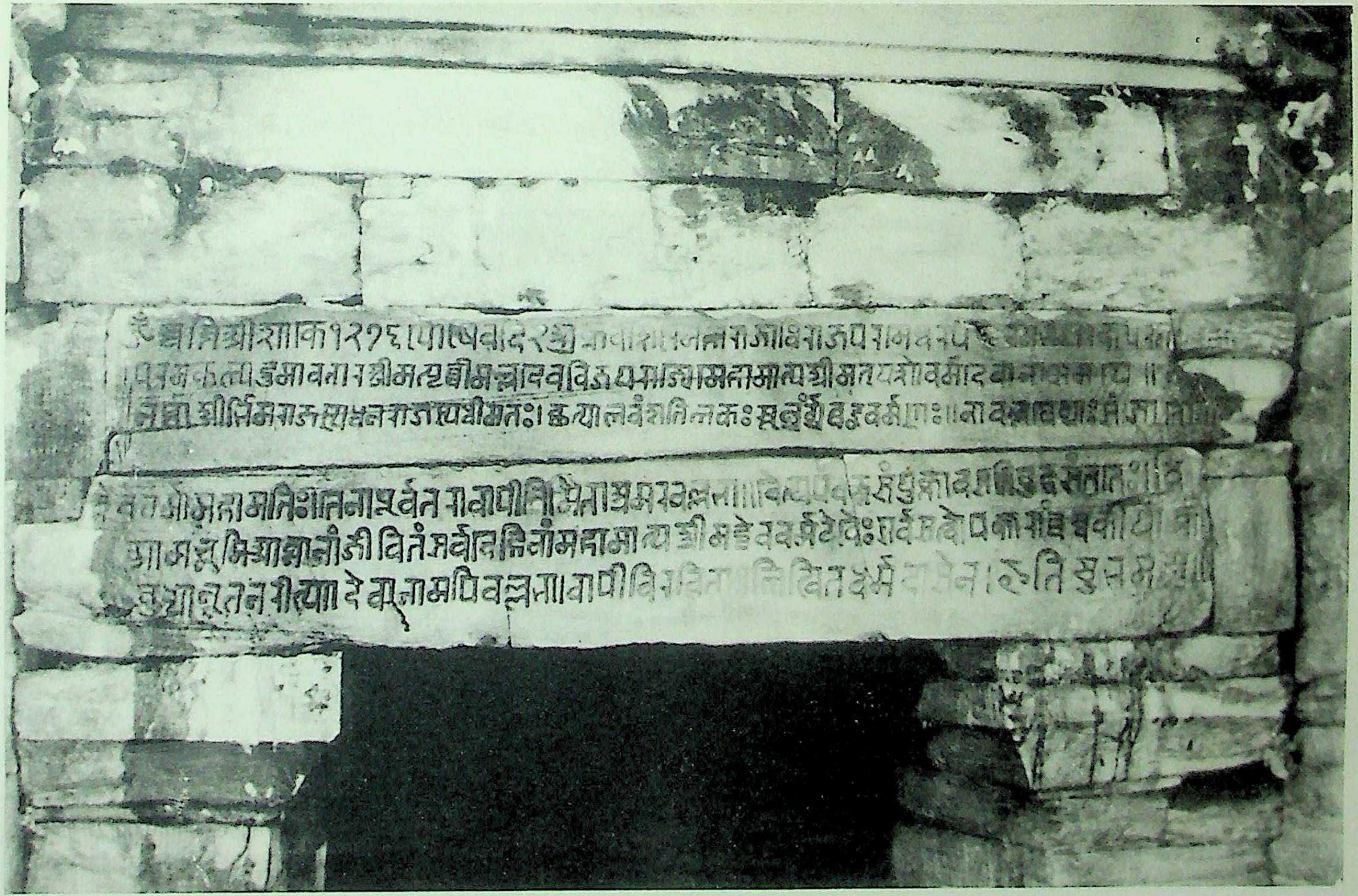


Fig. 55. Inscription of the vāpī of Dullu (p. 45)

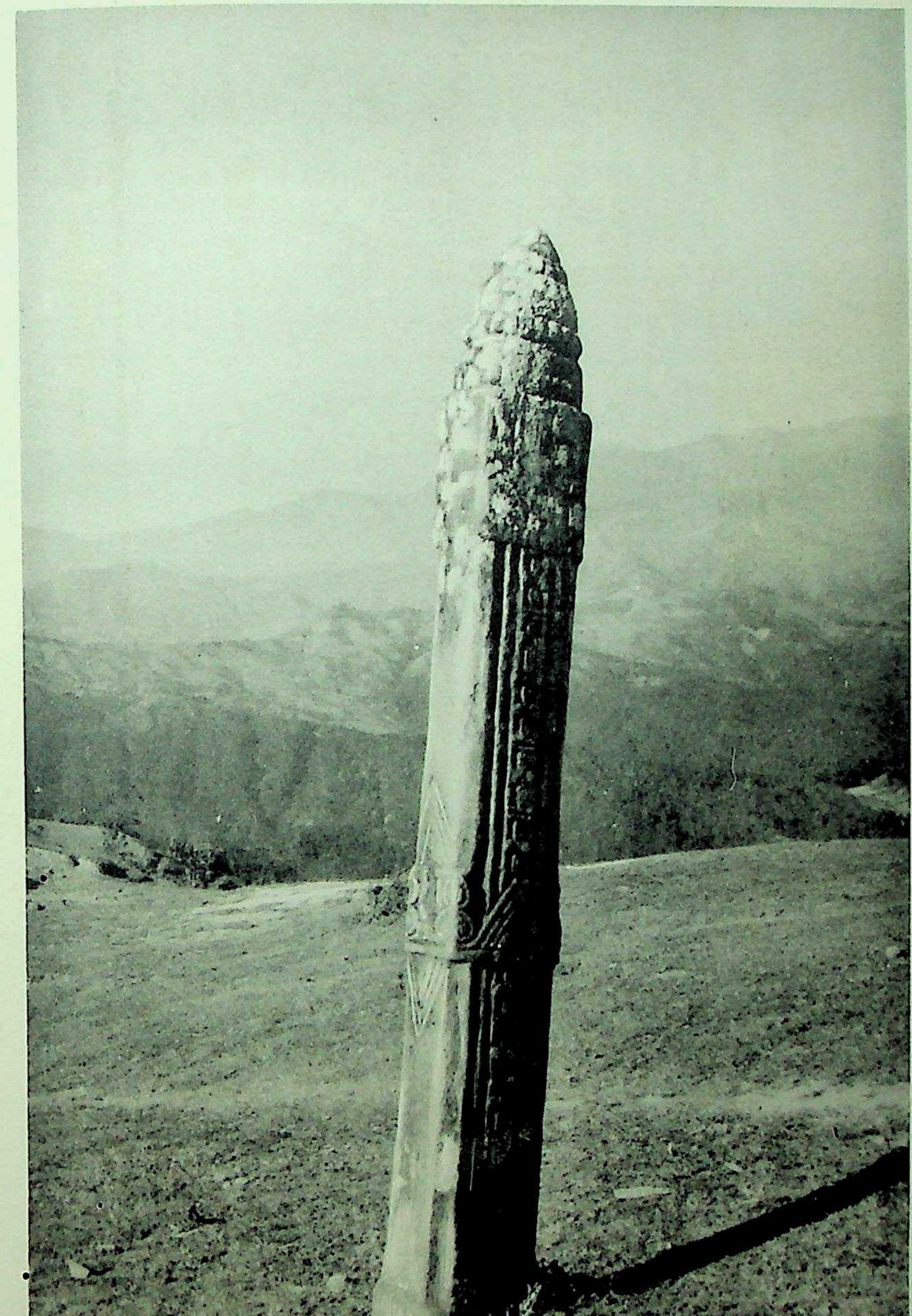


Fig. 56. Stone pillar at Pusakot (p. 39)

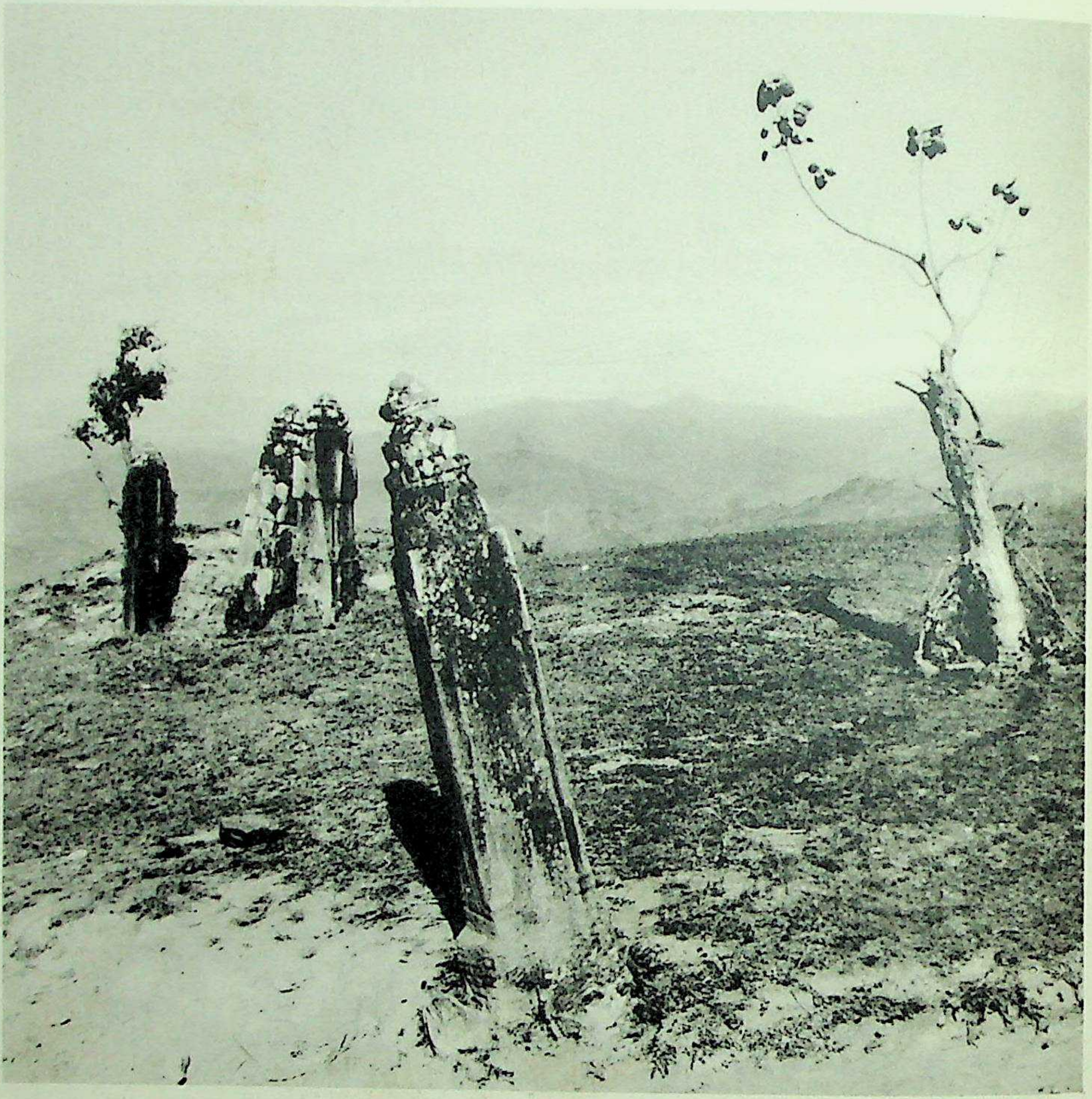


Fig. 57. Stone pillars near Pusakot (p. 39)

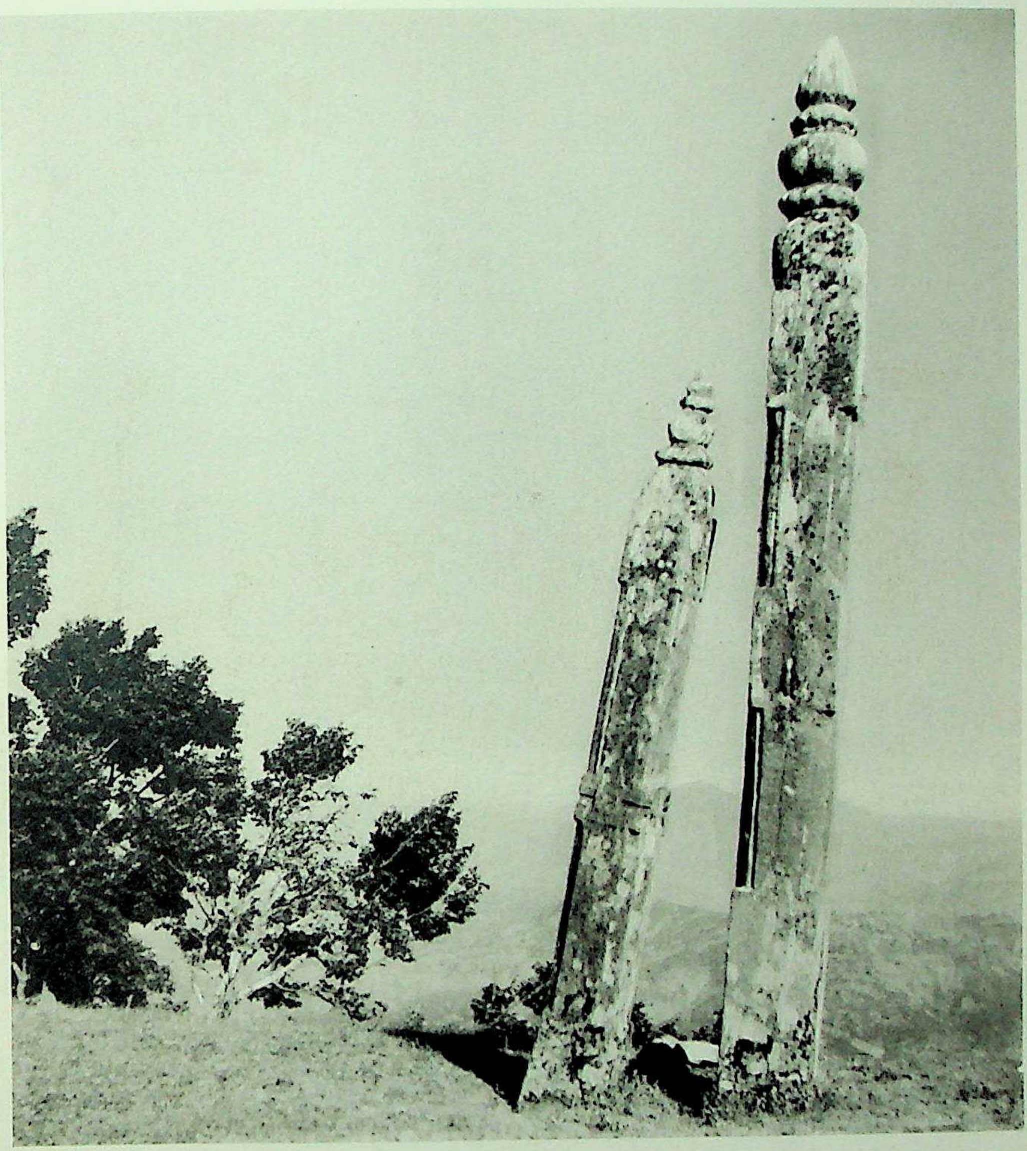


Fig. 58. Stone pillars near Pusakot (p. 39)

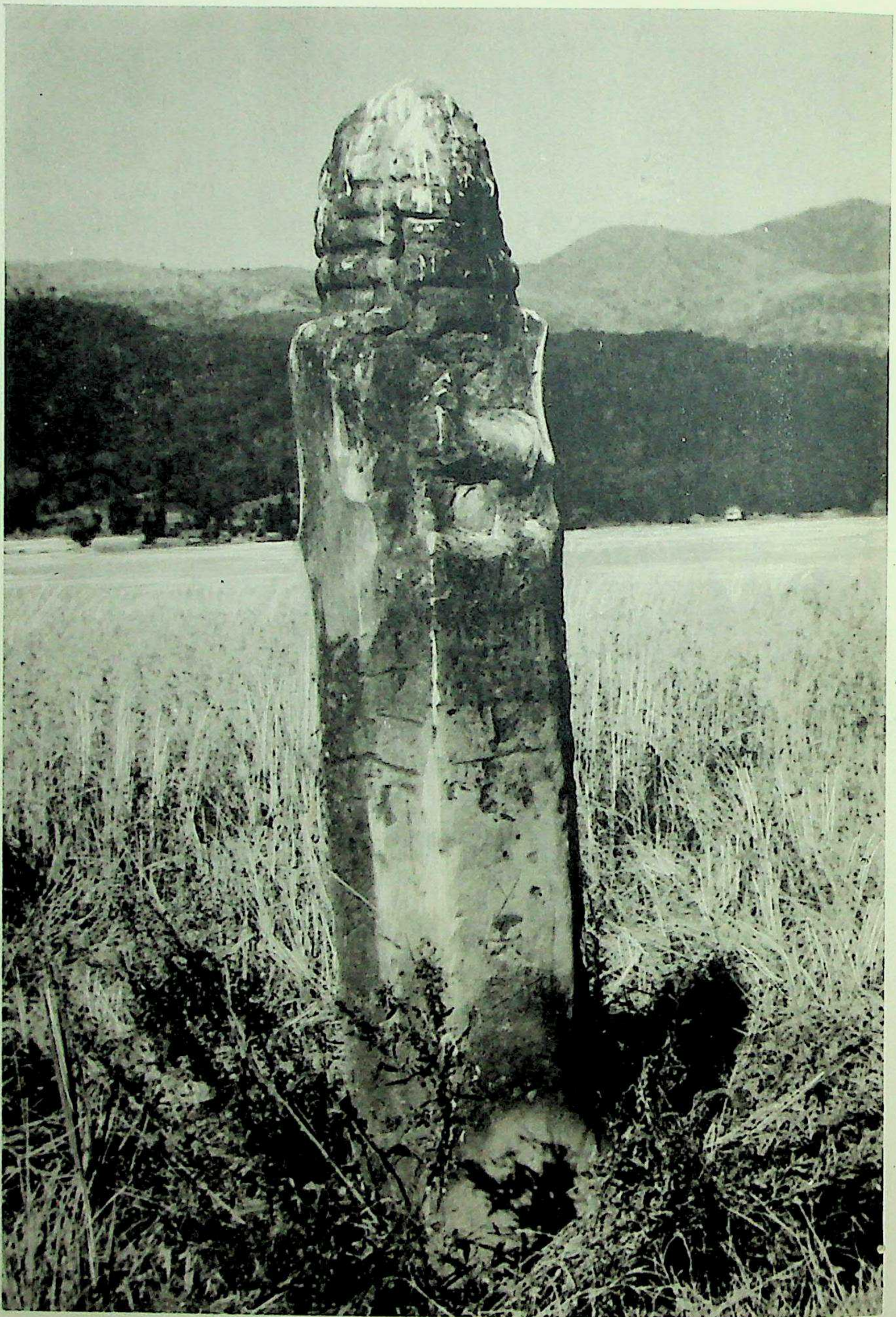


Fig. 59. Stone pillars in the Tarai below Surkhet (p. 39)

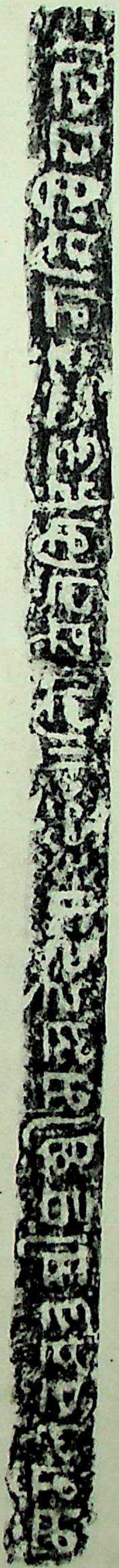


Fig. 60. Inscription on a rock along the road Jhelli-Auri (p. 43)

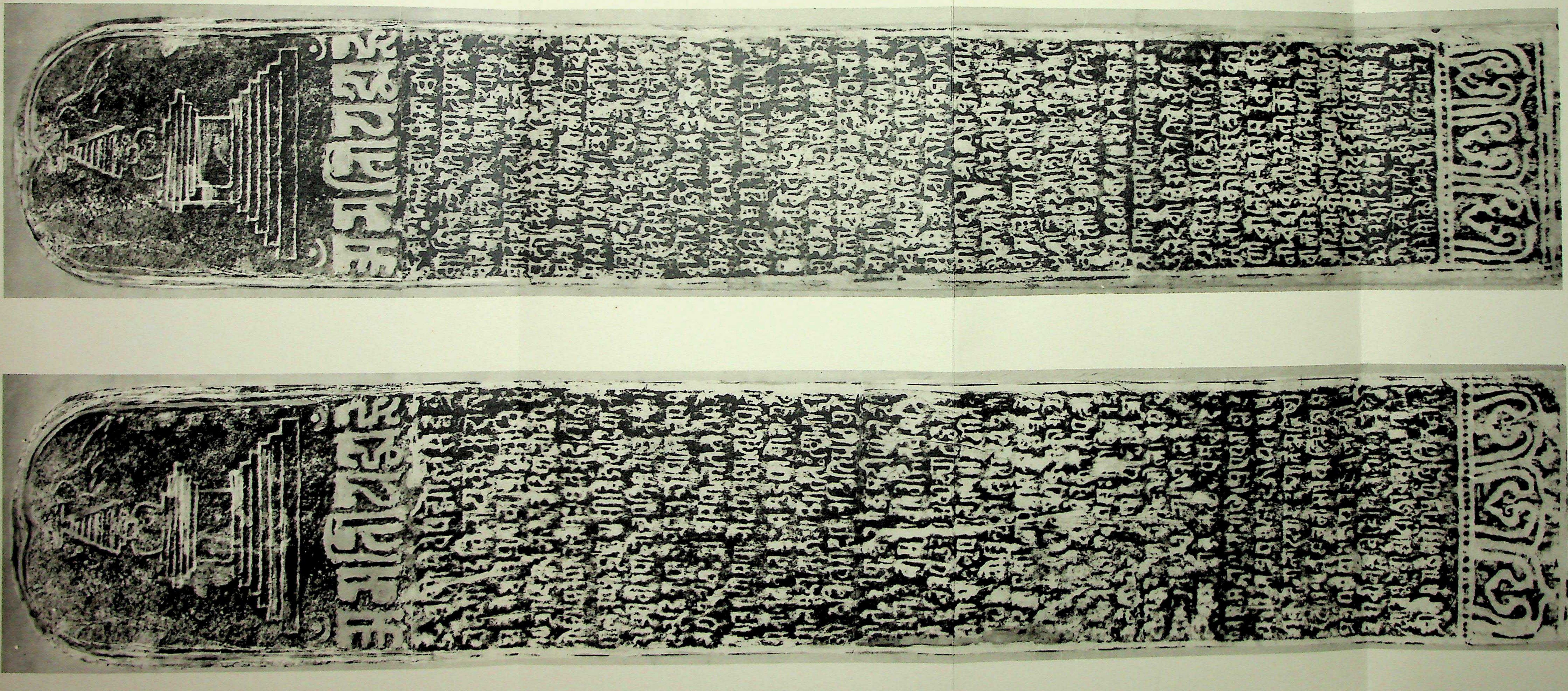
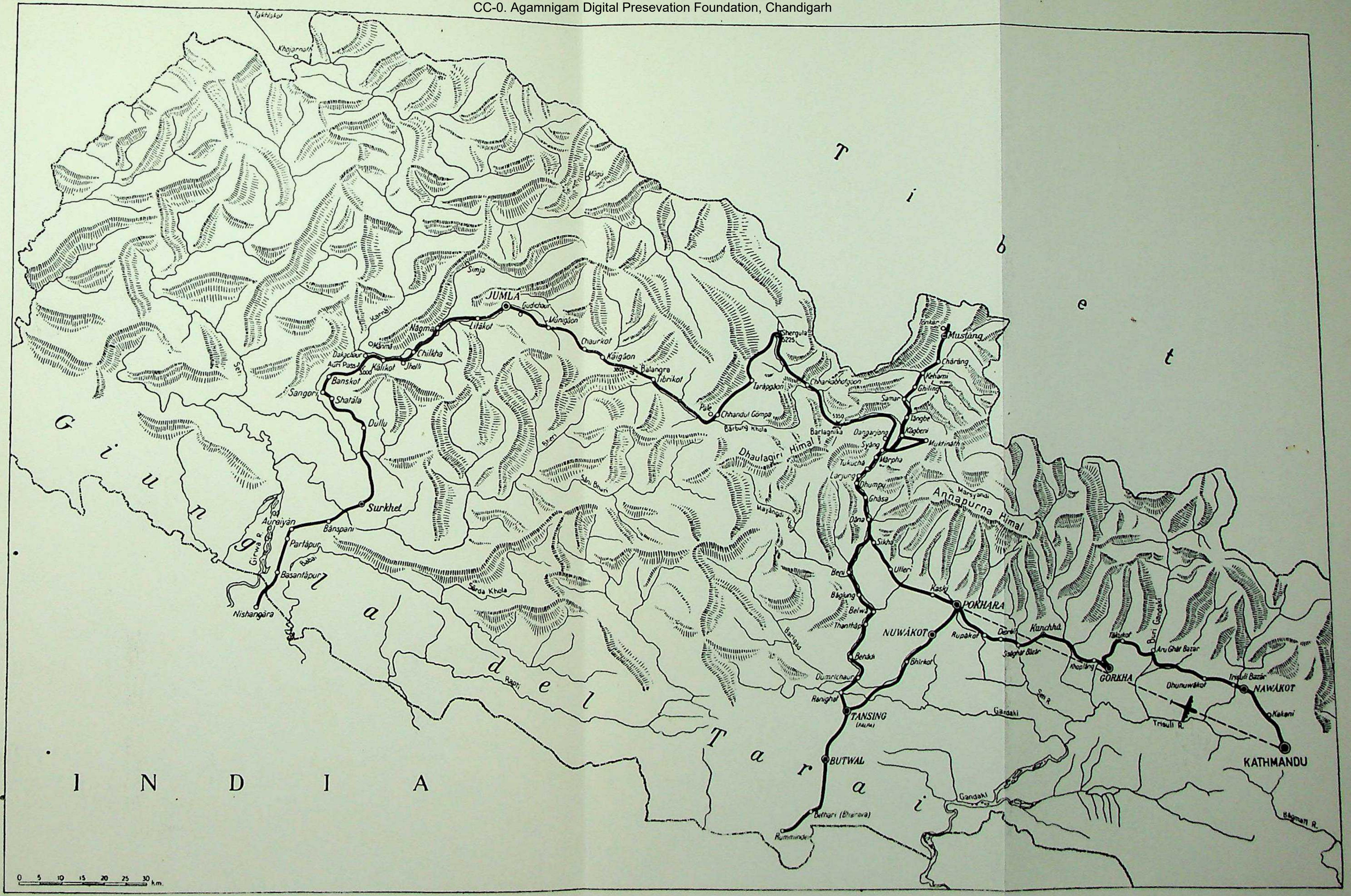


Fig. 61 A. B. Genealogy of the Mallas. (p. 46)


Takhlakot
Khojarnath
Mugu
T i b e t
Simja
Karnali
JUMLA
Gudichour
Litakot
Munigaon
Nagma
Chaurkot
Manma
Chilkha
Dakgchaur
Auri Pass
Kalikot
Jhelli
Kaigaon
Balangra
Tibrikot
Shergula
5225
Tonkar
Mustang
Charang
Kehami
Ghiling
Samar
Tangbe
Kagbeni
Muktinath
Chharkabhotgaon
Tarapgaon
Puk
Chhandul Gompa
Barbung Khola
Barlagnika
5350
Dangarjong
Syang
Marpha
Tukucha
Larjung
Dhumpu
Ghasa
Dana
Sikha
Ulleri
Dhaulagiri Himal
Annapurna Himal
Marsyandi
Mayangdi
Banskot
Sangori
Shatala
Dullu
Surkhet
Sani Bheri
Bheri
Seti
G i u n g l a d e l T a r a i
Aureiyan
Girwa R.
Banspani
Partapur
Babai
Basantapur
Nishangara
Sarda Khola
Rapti
Beni
Baglung
Belwa
Thanthap
Benadi
Dumrichaur
Ranighat
TANSING
(PALPA)
NUWAKOT
Bhirkot
Kaski
POKHARA
Rupakot
Deorali
Kanchha
Satghar Bazar
Khoplang
GORKHA
Takukot
Buri Gandaki
Aru Ghat Bazar
Dhunuwakot
Trisuli Bazar
NAWAKOT
Kakani
Trisuli R.
Seti R.
Gandaki
KATHMANDU
Bagmati R.
BUTWAL
Bethari (Bhairava)
Rummindei
Bariga
I N D I A
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 km.

Sketch map of my itineraries in Nepal.

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